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THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine of the World's Student Christian Federation

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EDITORIAL

The Meaning of Ecumenical

We cabled to a friend in England asking him to write an article on The Ecumenical Church and the Ordinary Christian. *He replied, as we had expected, with an admirable contribution, but unfortunately he modestly assumed that, as the Rector of a city church,* he *was the ordinary Christian. We must go farther back to pick up the ordinary student at any rate, realising that most students, like most of the members of our churches, know very little about the ecumenical movement. Even among many who use the term easily there is a very inaccurate idea of its content.*

Co-operation amongst the divided elements of Protestant Christianity has been steadily increasing in the last hundred years. Does not 1944 mark the centenary of the founding of that great laymen's movement, the Young Men's Christian Association? The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., in their world manifestations, and the World's Student Christian Federation have through their influence upon the younger generation, done much to build up that spirit of co-operation. The International Missionary Council, founded at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 (where so many leading Church figures served their apprenticeship as doorkeepers!) and the Life and Work and Faith and Order movements (associated forever with the great names of Archbishop Söderblom and Bishop Brent) built on the informal foundations

of the youth movements. Co-operation in action and in thought soon created a deeper desire for unity.

At what point in this process the Christian public began to speak less of "international" and "world", and more of "ecumenical", historians will no doubt some day record. The transition is important, if it is not misinterpreted, because it implies moving from general terms to a word of the Church. The Greeks used ecumenical *to designate their world as opposed to barbarian lands; then it became used for the Roman world, which represented civilisation. But it was the great ecclesiastical councils of the early centuries which consecrated its use to that Church in all the world, which is undivided in the mind of God. The modern change in terminology indicates therefore a change of heart, and this must never be forgotten. The founding of the World Council of Churches is not just an achievement in co-operation; it is a step forward in Christian understanding. The fact that at present its name has attached to it the cautious phrase, "in process of formation", should only awaken us to the magnitude of the step now being taken.*

In this ecumenical development the World's Student Christian Federation has played a creative part. Students at their best do not like to slip round differences but to face them and discover what their nature is. And so the habit of taking Church traditions seriously grew strongly in the Federation. The Conference in Constantinople of 1911, where we met *the Eastern Orthodox Churches, stimulated the ecumenical policy of the Federation, and ever since then, at any general committee the most fascinating discussion, and some of the most creative decisions, have been around this question. To take other people seriously is the beginning of a far deeper common understanding than any get-together can achieve. It may mean confessional groups in an inter-confessional movement, it may mean the agony of separated services of Holy Communion, but it also means reality. It is a way that is easily criticised by those who believe in rapid progress to an ill-defined end, but it is* our *way, and it has proved creative. We believe one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church and not a united Christian movement.*

The question is sometimes asked, "Well, what about relations with the Roman Catholic Church?" Far be it from the editor of THE STUDENT WORLD *to venture into this difficult territory! But this much may be said. There are many encouraging signs of mutual charity and co-operation where members of all the churches are together suffering for, and witnessing to, their faith. In the Federation we expect of Protestants that they shall be good Protestants, and of Catholics that they shall be good Catholics. In so far as we respect one another not only as people, or Christians, but as Churchmen, we shall at any rate be on the level at which we can look into one another's eyes. Meanwhile the excellent relationships between the W.S.C.F. and Pax Romana (the Roman Catholic international student secretariat) in their common co-operation with International Student Service for the work of student relief and reconstruction is a solid achievement. The arguments upon which we base our co-operation differ, and its range is necessarily limited, but there is much agreement in our views of university life, for together we believe in God and in the fact, so universally contested today, that this is His world. It is an important area of common ground.*

At this point students frequently ask: "What has the ecumenical movement to do with world peace?" It is perhaps permissible to point out that its influence towards world peace is not the primary test of the validity of the ecumenical movement. But it is dishonest to stop there, since the Church is obviously failing to be true to its Lord, if it has no effect upon the most pressing of all the problems of mankind. So let us try to answer this question briefly.

In the first place, history has proved that co-operation between people of different national, racial and cultural backgrounds, especially over long periods, and without the stimulus of common resistance to an enemy, is a difficult accomplishment. The only alternative stimulus is a common loyalty, and, in spite of all the quarrels of Christians, the most catholic of all communities is the Christian Church, because at its heart is a common loyalty to Jesus Christ. These years of war have proved all over again that it is possible for Christians to remain in fellowship with one

another in spite of the divisions between nations and groups of nations, of which war is the last consequence. Suffering, too, which seems designed to tear men ruthlessly apart in bitter alienation, can by the strange power of the Cross of Jesus Christ be transformed into the very stuff of human solidarity. Such solidarity is essential for peace.

In the second place, the ecumenical development in our Christian relationships should be of direct service for the principal item now on the Church's agenda, namely reconciliation. Co-operation, even at its best, does not necessarily ensure reconciliation, still less does that goodwill which fails to face the fact of evil, and which so often masquerades as Christian love. Put it this way. In facing the differences in our Christian tradition, and realising that our division is basically due to man's sin and not to the divine intention, we have learnt that the ultimate uniting factor is not our desire to be friendly, which is too often hypocritical, or patronising, but God's presence in His Church. So it can be in the situation which the aftermath of war will bring upon us. Let us not imagine that there will be no estrangements, no infection of political or ideological hatred in the body of the Church. We shall not find it easy, as we say, to forget and forgive. But just because we belong to that community which has always betrayed its Lord, as well as witnessed to Him, we shall realise that all reconciliation is reconciliation, not primarily of men to men, but of men to God. And perhaps we shall have the grace to see that our only hope for the future is to recognise what God has done for us all *in forgiving our sin. Forgiveness must be at the base of any constructive relationships, personal or national.*

In the third place, the danger of many views of world peace is that they are static. The prevention of war will not ensure peace. A creative attitude to the relationships of peoples and nations is required, a policy of building them into a larger whole. Here the Church has knowledge and experience, which the world needs. The only unity of the Church is a missionary unity. When our Lord used the prayer ut omnes unum sint, *He was referring not to a divided Christendom, but to a world which was to be evangelised. The ecumenical movement only has meaning in*

relation to the missionary movement. The new spirit of fellowship has been granted to the churches that they may the more effectively bring all men to Christ. Surely an organism within the world, which is always reaching out into new areas, always building up a fuller life, is the only guarantee we have that mankind will not again fall so disastrously apart, and utterly destroy itself. The existence of the Ecumenical Church assures us that God does not mean this to happen.

R. C. M.

Prayer

O God of unchangeable power and eternal light, look favourably on thy whole Church, that wonderful and sacred mystery; and by the tranquil operation of thy perpetual providence, carry out the work of man's salvation; and let the whole world feel and see that things which were cast down are being raised up, that those things which had grown old are being made new, and that all things are returning to perfection through him from whom they took their origin, even through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Gelasian Sacramentary. A.D. 494.

Suffering and the People of the Cross

Tracy Strong

Now abideth hate, love and suffering and the most universal of these is suffering. "Never before in the history of mankind," says Dr. John R. Mott, "has there been such highly concentrated and universal suffering as there is today." "The Sacred Way which leads to Calvary winds across the world," warns my French colleague, "the day before yesterday in Manchuria, China and Abyssinia; yesterday in Poland, Greece, France and Yugoslavia; today the nations one by one become pilgrims on the road." "When the floods of horror and hatred will have passed away," writes a German soldier from the Russian front, "the face of the earth will be entirely changed. God has turned everything into a melting pot, so that the forms which had become rigid may again be fluid and moulded anew." The world drama of change, wars, revolutions, persecutions brings insecurity to the individual and suffering to the masses. Mass suffering makes human life seem trivial and deadens the conscience. Individual suffering often destroys hope and faith.

This article is not a treatise on suffering. Neither does it seek to give a philosophical or theological answer to suffering. Neither will it undertake to rival the press and the "movies" in depicting the horrors of the destruction of the masses or the torture of individuals. The article gives an insight into the lives of friends suffering in their personal lives because of the loss of security from their homes, their nations and their God.

Man suffers when life is threatened

The young Spanish refugee after five years had no clothes but only a blanket to cover his nakedness. Hour after hour he suffered alone on his dirty mattress. He shunned companions. He wanted to die, alone. A friend forced a shirt and trousers upon him. He gained self-respect. He became the leader of a non-Aryan boys' club in the camp. He that was dead was alive again. Clothes and a friend brought him back into society. His outer conditions remained the same but within he was born again.

"We must not eat our sandwich here," pleads the eight-year-old girl with her mother on a French train. "There may be others who have had nothing to eat." Hours of gnawing hunger had made the child prematurely sensitive to the suffering of others. How will these children judge the civilisation which, in the name of military necessities, decided that they should starve in a world of plenty?

Liquid fire, bursting shells, irresistible tank attacks and bombs from the air destroy persons on the battle front or in the suffocating atmosphere of the bomb cellars. Facing death, man realises life's insecurity and suffers the agony of uncertainty.

The brutality in concentration camps has shocked the world. Civilisation is bankrupt when man forces his fellows to remain standing motionless for hours, where children and women are thrown into a black hole to die, where hospital attendants steal the clothes of the patients to keep them from escaping. Yet even more terrible than the physical suffering is the constant thought that "I perish alone and no one will ever know how I died."

Finally, millions of prisoners of war face alone, without privacy and without liberty, Pascal's "insufferables". "Nothing is so insufferable to man," wrote Pascal three hundred years ago, "as to be completely at rest, without passions, without business, without diversions, without study. . . ." The stagnant sea of idleness and the monotonous days and hours of sameness sometimes drive men to despair, insanity and even suicide. Man alone cannot survive the suffering of these tragic hours.

Man suffers when his family is insecure

"What is the worst form of suffering?" I asked a European friend. "The insecurity of life and especially that of the family," he replied. "I leave home in the morning. I may be picked up on the street and my wife will wait in vain for my return. The home telephone rings. My wife approaches it with fear. What new order, what terrible command, what insistent demand will come over the wire? There's a knock at the front door. With trembling fingers I remove the bolt. What awaits me?" This dread of the secret police in all the countries has changed the older and simpler forms of national hatreds to a desire for personal vengeance. It's a hatred of that unseen power—the secret police—which wears all kinds of uniforms and "sits on the front door step so that you cannot speak to your wife in private without endangering your

safety." This poisonous fear has penetrated the family circle and is destroying the home from within.

The parents of the soldiers of all nations anxiously open the letters and telegrams from the government bringing news of the loved one at the front. A notice "killed in action" brings immediate suffering to all homes. A letter telling that "he's a prisoner of war" causes great worry. Prisoners do not adjust themselves to camp life until the folks at home know they are alive. A notice "missing in action" causes the greatest suffering. Is he alive or dead? Is the home broken or not?

My Chinese friend wrote a new nameless Odyssey. With seven children and his wife he trekked for over one year across China. Mother bundled the three-year-old on her back. Father carried the five-year-old. The others walked. The peasants fed them. The neighbours protected them. It was a symbol of China's ancient civilisation—a suffering family.

The Polish artist in a prison camp was painting the portrait of a Swedish Y.M.C.A. visitor. He talked. He painted. His eyes occasionally gazed out beyond the barbed wire. He longed for news of his family in Eastern Poland. The visitor had heard from the commandant that a letter had come that day telling of the family's being sent to Siberia. "Do not tell him," said the German officer. "It will kill him. He dreams all day of his loved ones and home."

Man's struggle to hold the family together when millions are uprooted is one of the most courageous and glorious chapters in the history of these days. But the family alone cannot survive the suffering at these tragic hours.

Man suffers when his nation is occupied

Social and national security have gone from most of the peoples of the world. "Millions have lost their social and moral roots. The sense of right and wrong has been wilfully and systematically confused. Spiritual realities have been denied, or, which is even worse, abused for the lowest purposes. It is likely, therefore, that at the end of this war the spiritual and moral chaos will be even worse than the material one." Much of this is due to the invasion of pagan forces into the national cultures of the largest countries of Europe and the invasion of military forces into most of the smaller nations. With the destruction of

national security go most of the human values which centre around the nation's traditions, laws, and faith. The disruption of communal and national life creates the uncontrolled and uncontrollable masses. Man suffers for want of a national home.

I watched my friend during the weeks after his country was occupied. He lost his interest in life and even religion. He wanted to flee from the ruins of Europe. The intellectual ties with friends in the occupying country were temporarily severed. He was rootless. The security of his nation was gone. I have never seen such suffering.

The fear and horror on the faces of those who have had their passports taken away is a sight never to be forgotten. The haunting tread of the stateless folk as they climb the steps of consulate after consulate seeking a new paper, a stamp on a passport, a visa into the promised land, is engraved upon my memory. Men fight, steal, murder for a piece of paper which will give them national status.

The betrayal of a people by its nation is one of the greatest tragedies of this period of history. The suffering in many lands of the Jews, who may have lived for centuries in a country but who are no longer wanted, surpasses man's imagination. The second generation Japanese in America, who find themselves torn out of their communities, are passing through a rude awakening. The suffering is often more intense than personal or family loss. "My nation which nurtured and made me what I am no longer wants me," they cry. In the language of the peoples of Old Testament times they cry in their peril, "Oh, my Nation! my Nation! Why hast thou forsaken me?" The Nation alone cannot conquer the suffering of these tragic hours. *Man suffers where his social theories and religious beliefs are insufficient.*

"Our former conceptions of law and justice were founded on a certain natural law, a theory of the rights of man, based on a simple belief in man as good and reasonable," affirms an international group of Christian students in Geneva. "Experience has shown how idealistic this conception is."

Geneva's daring experiment in "green table diplomacy" was begun by as worthy and as capable a selection of men and women ever brought together around a great ideal. Men believed with an old-time religious fervor in a rational solution of the world's ills based on understanding and confidence. No group of men

and women had more technical skill in handling various languages and international conferences. It was not surprising that some of the League's most enthusiastic supporters spoke of the birth of the League as the most significant event since the birth of Christ. Never have I witnessed greater suffering than when the League began to disintegrate. The offices sought cities of refuge. Men and women fled to places of greater security. The dreams and hopes of that generation faded in the clouds of war.

The old Latin proverb dinned into the ear of thousands of French youth is perfectly and eternally true: "so long as you are happy, you will have many friends." They were a happy people because they believed in a new world. "We have received the wages of our errors," writes a French student. "We know now that the other Latin proverb is also true: 'man is a wolf for man'."

The hopes of the pacifists for a warless world swept through all the countries during recent years. Passive resistance, "youth building a new world", "a warless world", "the outlawry of war", the "conscientious objector", Christian pacifism, were phrases which stood for God's will in men's lives and brought forth courageous spirits ready to surrender life itself. These social and religious beliefs have proven insufficient to harness the turbulent passions and forces of modern man.

Even the prophets of gloom, the foretellers of the downfall of civilisation, the theologians of crisis, the men of faith who recognised man's sin and weakness and looked solely to the righteous judgment of God have watched the chaos and horrors of the times make their theories seem shallow and unlivable.

I think often of the eldest son of an old, highly respected German family. He fought in the mud and muck of the trenches in the first war. He returned home a brilliant cynic. He viewed with interest the idealistic pacifistic youth movement of the twenties. He saw the security of family fortunes disappear during inflation. He became an active, ardent communist and put his trust in economic forces. He saw selfishness and cowardliness weaken the Communist movement. He was too old and disillusioned to put his trust in National Socialism. He sought refuge for a time in the Church but found it cluttered with ritual, formalism and bourgeois intellectualism. "I am looking," he said, "for a people who are not afraid of a collapse of organised Christianity, but hope for something new that God can give us. The only reality is suffering and the Cross." Social theories and

religious beliefs alone cannot survive the suffering of these tragic hours.

What then can survive? When man stands in his social nakedness before his God and fellowmen, with the old securities and values which centre around the home and the nation destroyed, does he discover older truths and more lasting certainties? Are the seeds of a new world being planted in these times of universal suffering?

Universal suffering reveals man as man

"A man's a man for a' that" rings true today in many an army, prisoner of war and refugee camp. Brutality and kindness are rivals. Cruelty and camaraderie go hand in hand. Fear shakes but does not destroy trust. Hate and love compete for a man's soul. Man is evil. Man is good. He is a son of Satan and a child of God. Shorn of his social privileges he waits for vengeance and a finer world.

The young peasant Russian working as a prisoner of war in Germany breaks through the social barriers and reveals a man and wins respect. He had fought bravely. He had surrendered honourably. He was sent with his fellows to work on a large estate. In common toil he was tested by his work. He ran the tractor and tilled the soil. The tractor broke and the German overseer was desperate. No spare parts were to be had. The tractor was useless. The Russian peasant-mechanic made a new piece with his own hands. The tractor was saved. The Russian became a man. "There must be something good in this Russian social system which can produce such a man," commented the overseer.

The Dutch pastor followed the working man of his parish into Germany for forced labour. He met his German employer and other simple, honest, home-loving folk. The employer provided a room for worship; took him occasionally into his own home; sympathised with his terrible suffering and misfortune. The Dutchman discovered a man.

The French young people volunteered to live in one of the worst concentration camps in Europe. They ate the same food. They pleaded with the guards for the Jewish internees as persons. They entered into the common suffering and faced unspeakable difficulties and grave perils. They did not desert their new found

friends. Neither did they save them from the cold systematic persecution. But they revealed a man with undying faith to their fellowmen. Race, nation, family became secondary as man in his social nakedness became man.

Universal suffering creates a new unity

The world is passing through the crucible of fire and sword. Winter brings greater suffering. Mothers and wives are weeping everywhere. Children are suffering everywhere. Prisoners suffer the insufferables of being "without privacy, without liberty." Nations are accepting the suffering of redemptive humiliation. Yet the hope of suffering people bears within it the seeds of a new world.

I watched ten thousand prisoners being deloused. In batches of fifty they were stripped naked and put in a common bath. Each man's earthly possessions were put on a coat hanger and disinfected. The loss of your things for a time; the huddling together naked in a small room created new values and new unity.

Prisoners of war learn the value of little things. With a broken piece of glass a statue is scratched out of a piece of wood. The different coloured clays in the soil in a camp in India occupy hundreds of men as artistic designs are made on the mud floors. The general asks for ping-pong balls for his fellow officers while all prisoners love to keep pets. A guitar saves a man's mind in eastern Poland. A football bladder is worth its weight in gold as it makes team play possible. A paint brush creates an artist out of an idle man. Little things become essential to the new unity in the camp.

In one camp the Americans and British were favoured with a ten-pound food parcel every week. The Poles and Serbs received one a month. The Russians never receive extra food. With no lack of appreciation to the nations who supplied the food, the men began to share. The spirit of camaraderie prevailed. Common suffering created a new unity.

A pair of boxing gloves came into camp. One former professional took on all comers. One night a guard challenged the boxer. A never-to-be-forgotten match was on. Both were professionals. Each respected the skill of the other. They became friends although enemies. Wise words were uttered by a Dutch Catholic nurse who stood by the bedside of an American mother.

A child was born. Its parents were Americans. It was in a Japanese camp in China. The doctor was a Britisher. Looking at the new-born child with loving eyes and an understanding heart, she said, "You also are born a prisoner."

Universal suffering unites the people of the Cross

In the early days of the church when persecution drove men and women into the catacombs, Christians often were called the people of the Cross. So today all over the world men and women are discovering in the midst of suffering God's message of suffering love revealed in His Son on the Cross.

The church becomes once again a relevant force in the life of the peoples. When spiritual, material and cultural forces have broken down or been wiped away, men are witnessing an old organisation develop a new community of suffering—"a community which is indestructibly rooted in the plan of God and the guardian of the birthright of man."

The seventeen hundred young people from over seventy nations who went down on their knees to celebrate the holy communion bore witness to the power of the Lord's Supper to draw men together in fellowship. The six German soldiers on the Russian front who celebrated the communion in a hospital entered the same fellowship. "I never heard the words of Institution," wrote the chaplain, "as I did in the moment I gave the bread to a nineteen-year-old comrade who had lost both his feet—and who answered the words 'take, eat' in quiet, steadfast confidence, with the words 'and though I should walk in the valley of the shadow of death—God—Thou art with me'."

The people of the Cross have discovered the secret of living in a world where spiritual and moral chaos are driving men to seek new securities, to rediscover man as man, to find a new unity on which suffering man can rebuild. May we not expect these people of the Cross to create centres of a new common life amidst the ruins of the old world, to recognise their responsibility to the masses and to enter into a new freedom as men and as children of God?

A Swedish View of the Future

Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand

Since they have not shared the suffering of most other nations, many Swedes feel a kind of shameful uncertainty in dealing with the problems of this time. Still there is something to be said for Sweden as an observation post.

Looking out from Sweden

Neutral Sweden is one of the very few countries that have during all these years been in continuous communication with both sides of the war. This communication has not in all quarters had the nature of spiritual interchange, but still there may have been some knowledge reaped from it. Speaking of a very external fact, it may be remembered that Stockholm, uneventful in itself, has been an El Dorado for newspaper correspondents from all the world.

Then—and this is far more important—we have found in the developments of our sister nations, Norway, Denmark and Finland, a microcosm that is in its unity and its diversity representative of the agonies of this time. This is no outward knowledge, as it has gone to the heart of our heart. Thousands of Norwegians have passed our long and mountainous border line; thousands of children from Finland—especially fatherless children—have during long periods lived in Swedish homes. This eventful autumn there has been the traffic of Danish refugees over the Sound. Through all these—and in many other ways—we have had an unbroken contact with the happenings in those countries, each of them rather isolated from the others.

And then our own peaceful situation has not been a matter of course, a circumstance above discussion. We do not live outside the world. The Swedish warpower, gradually increasing and taking much of the energy of our male population, has not been a mere ornament, and the life of the nation has been much more deeply affected than would appear on the surface by the preparation against at times immediate danger. We do not dream of ever regaining the thoughtless security of former years. So, speaking of the future of the world, we do not speak as philosophic observers from far off. We speak of our own hopes and fears.

The religious history of our neighbour countries has in many respects been a history of suffering. But it has given concrete examples of that great positive experience that sometimes belongs to the agonised periods in history.

Six years before the war Ambassador Dodd met the Papal Nuncio at Berlin and asked him in simple rationalist curiosity, if he thought there were any Christians left in the world. The Nuncio, according to Dodd, said he really thought so. We may find the Ambassador's question a little tactless, and of course we would not have expressed it so crudely, but in moments of despair or temptation we all asked ourselves—or nearly asked ourselves—just what he asked: if Christianity in our times was really the fact God meant it to be and not a purely social convention. The period of tribulation has shown us something of the answer. In more secularised countries we have seen the fact of Jesus Christ, the fact of the Church, once again becoming a sign of dissension and a sign of victory. And we have learnt again that if there is in this frightful crisis, where no part of man's life can be isolated from politics, a living Christianity, then this Christianity will have its effects on the social and political questions that are important to mankind.

The neighbouring countries

In the Lutheran Churches there is always a critical attitude to the temptation of making politics and secular programmes out of the Christian message. A Lutheran Church desires even more than other churches to avoid political conflict. The Church in *Norway,* whilst completely loyal to its countrymen, took its way to conflict in a Lutheran way, step by step, without any rashness. But it went straight on, and we heard nothing of any hesitation when the duty lay clear before it. When its time came, it was the soul of the whole nation. When everything was taken from it that could be taken by the State, it lived with a greater intensity than ever before. In all its religious concentration it saw its duty not only to defend itself but to speak out openly against contempt of law and righteousness, and later on against the culminating persecution of the Norwegian Jews. To the Christian communities of Sweden this aspect of the Church has seemed very important; the impossibility of the Church being neutral in questions of life and death has become clearer to us.

In *Denmark* there has been, until now, no Church conflict, and the Church could not regard it as her duty to engage herself

politically. But everyone knows that the Christian influence is a powerful invisible inspiration in the Danish resistance. The great organisation of Danish youth, that has been in many respects the heart of national consciousness, has a Christian leader, Hal Koch, professor in theology, who last September was arrested by the Germans. To the whole Danish people the beautiful hymns of their country, sung everywhere, have become symbolic expressions for their hope and steadfastness; and the influence of Grundtvig, the great Danish Christian patriot of the 19th century (and author of many of the hymns), is still more important than any other intellectual influence in Denmark. In hard times, when all outward guarantees seemed to fail, people have been faced with the question whether there is a hopeful faith, even should national hopes fail for ever. The Swedish public has been deeply impressed by such utterances from the prophetic but paradoxical clergyman-dramatist of Denmark, Kaj Munk.

Finland fought its winter war when Denmark and Norway were still free countries. Finland, in those days admired and encouraged by the whole democratic world, fought alone and (whatever may be the world-political explanations behind this fact) fought for its existence. To the beholders it looked incomprehensible that it did not give up and still more that it kept such a calm and single-minded spirit when disaster was so near. To us who had good opportunities of watching the Finnish development it was a revelation to see the importance of the Church in this situation. The Church is not there to be an instrument for national defence, and its essential part lay much deeper than that. The calm, unswerving faith of the deeply rooted Finnish pietism stood forth as the deepest power in thousands of hearts, and the voice of the Church, speaking through its Bishops, had a truly prophetic note. Whatever the entanglements of later Finnish policy, what the Finnish people in its heart cares for and fights for is simply self-preservation. To a great many of them the new sense of Christian reality has given not only consolation but something deeper. We in Sweden have had to learn much from the Finnish example of gladness and faith, where there is not the slightest security for life or victory.

Small countries and small churches

From nearly all the afflicted countries of Europe it has been reported that there have been signs of such intensely felt Christian reality. There is in that nothing of the old nonsense about the

purifying effects of war. The simple truth is that many people —not all, nor the majority, but many—in a frightful time looked for their God and found Him. Who can say that his country is a Christian country? But who can help loving even more than before the soil where he has heard the footsteps of God?

The future of our countries is, of course, in the melting-pot, like everything else in the world. It represents no simple and easily solved question, especially as, not least in Sweden, the thought of a Nordic community without Finland is unbearable and incomprehensible. The question of our countries is in most respects a purely secular question. We simply like to exist. People do.

But behind that there are other questions. The right of the small nations is hardly a right to live on *in saecula saeculorum* in exactly the same forms. Will there grow out of this turmoil a real international community? Then it will be welcomed by us. But no one thinks that this will happen easily or at once. And behind the political questions there will all the time hide a real question of righteousness, of the right to freedom. Such a question must be as important to the Church as the question of suppressed classes or of inhuman oppression of individuals. God remains the God of the prophets and of Jesus Christ, the defender of the widows and the fatherless, the weak and the afflicted.

And possibly small countries and small national churches could have a special calling in future reconciliation. Of course, the voice that really matters is the voice of the Universal Church, but there are no other bearers of this voice than the concrete churches, and they will never be *totally* uninfluenced by their social background. Small churches will have the chance of being less bound, or rather of being bound in different ways, having different temptations from the others, and therefore in some small respect being helpful to them. Such help can of course be given also by small martyr churches, or exiled churches, but planning martyrdom is not the task of men.

Changing tasks

Between the two wars our northern countries led a peaceful life, chiefly devoted to industrial progress and social reform. Toyohiko Kagawa, who visited us in the thirties, gave us a sense of shame by saying that the Scandinavian countries were the only Christian countries he had seen. In social progress Finland

had the most difficult task, as it came out of oppression and civil war. But Finland took full part in the development, so much so that there was a profound reconciliation between the enemies of the civil war, the "reds" and the "whites".

In the time of peaceful work—and of a security that has now gone—the Nordic ex-neutrals had their opportunity in international collaboration. Feeling a little outside the conflicts they earnestly tried to help. The Norwegian explorer Nansen worked for refugees and famishing Russian families, whilst the Swedish Archbishop Söderblom found his prophetic calling in work for the unity of the churches. He had lived for years in France, had held a German professorship just before the last war and had special contacts with the Anglo-American world. The great nations all meant something to him. Above them all he saw the Universal Church. One of the tasks he set himself was to contribute to the understanding between Anglo-American and continental Christian thinking. He himself was strongly influenced by both.

The dreams of the happy years have passed now. All we have of a reconciling spirit will be needed first against hatred in our own countries. In Norway, where hatred would be a most natural reaction, the situation will give a new task to the Church. The Nordic countries have also gone very different ways these years, and will have obstacles to overcome between themselves. But at the same time out of the suffering and the diversity in their experiences there could grow, in nations so closely related, a much deeper understanding than before. Would it be impossible for the spirit of Nansen and Söderblom thus to be once more our calling in the world?

The German question

Not to speak now of the humanitarian work that will be needed everywhere, two questions may be pointed out as especially important for us. One of them is the German question. The situation is changed since the time between the wars when it seemed natural for our countries to hold a somewhat disinterested attitude with regard to that problem. Still, our experience of Germany, bitter as it has become, is deeper and more varied than that of most nations, and in these years our respective countries have received it in different ways. There might be a kind of return in more realistic forms to our old position as specialists in German questions.

In Swedish opinion, Christian or unchristian, there are no sympathies for the Nazi system. The whole pattern of our national life is a striking contrast to Nazi ideals. But Swedish civilisation owes an enormous debt to the *real* Germany, the Germany of the poets and philosophers, of the old universities and of Martin Luther. There is a feeling among us that this Germany in the long run has values, which cannot without grave damage be missed in the world symphony. The work of the German Confessional Church has been followed with keen interest in Sweden. And in another field our famous economic historian, Professor Heckscher, who is a fierce antagonist of the dictatorship (and is himself of Jewish family) wrote some months ago a very stimulating article on the Swedish duty of making propaganda for real German values, now trampled on by the Nazis, but still living. The direct contact with the Protestant Churches in Germany seems to be one of the important things for the future. In the delicate situation after the war the churches of small countries might have some concrete things to do in that respect.

The Russian question

The second question of special interest to us is the question of Russia. It is no use denying that our nations differ widely in their feeling about that problem. Still it may be said that the Finnish (and Swedish) contact with Russia through the centuries has not only brought enmity and mutual misgivings. We have also during these centuries assembled some concrete knowledge. That is especially the case with Finland; in the famous Academic Bookshop at Helsingfors the shelves with Russian literature are still rather imposing. In Sweden, the leading historian at the beginning of this century, Harald Hjärne, who had himself spent years in Moscow, pointed out as the special task of Swedish historians to study the Russian development. All has not been done that could be done out of this heritage, but what he expressed was the natural consequence of all our history. It may be said then that our old experience of Russia could be of some use in giving a realistic note to our studies of Russian spiritual developments. The Nordic countries, if they were allowed to exist peacefully, could thus do something towards knowledge and understanding.

Justice and Peace

Against this Swedish background it is tempting to make some general remarks on the future peace. In the discussions all over the world there seems to be a feeling that what we all need is not revenge but some sort of fundamental justice. The churches must naturally share that feeling. But there is still another question to be asked: what sort of justice are we looking for? And in this connection there is one problem that may look otherwise to people in our small country than to some people in the warring great powers.

In the interest of clarity, I may be permitted to put the case a little schematically. If it looks in some point or other like a caricature, there is no ill-will behind it, and it might in any case be clear what I am hinting at.

It seems as if many people meant the future peace to be a sort of final judgment on this sinful world. After the dark years of humanity one waits for a revelation of absolute and unhindered justice, by which the criminals shall be condemned and the righteous get the prize for their righteousness. Nations and their leaders shall all be put before the great Court of Law, and it is not doubted that there will be a Court to put them before. Thus the statesmen making the peace would have not only the responsibility of practical statesmen trying to do their best, but also the responsibility of judges, giving a final and irrevocable verdict on the world's affairs in the name of an eternal righteousness.

Behind that view of the peace there is something of a natural protest against the lawless and brutal chaos of the latter years. After them we all long for justice. In these dreams there is also a sort of secularised eschatology that is human and deeply moving. But still there is something wrong with the idea. There is no such justice to be found in our situation except in God the Lord. Men may prepare justice by wise and responsible arrangements, but, if they make out of their resolutions a sort of verdict of God, the moral issues of the peace will be very deeply confounded.

First, the victors will be unable to form any real Court of Law, as they are themselves parts of the conflict. For special details, it would be possible to get a board of experts, who were relatively impartial, but in the vital questions the verdict could not be separated from the practical resolutions, and so there could be no real verdict. Further, every indictment would be incomplete, as some wrongs at least will have been done by the victors

themselves; and these wrongs will naturally remain unpunished. (It need hardly be pointed out that the question discussed is international justice; it is different inside the respective countries, though there also there must be a certain necessity for restraint and forgiveness.)

Secondly, history will not come to a standstill the moment the war ends. On the contrary it will march on at a feverish pace. And so the peace will not be just the end of things passed. It will be a beginning, and that is the important thing about it. It is, then, much more important that the oppressed nations get their freedom and, if possible, some guarantees for it, than that the oppressors get their punishment, however well-earned it may sometimes be.

Of course, after what has happened, peace cannot be made as the diplomatists of the old school made it. To them war was a painful but passing incident. When it was over, Christendom as a whole was fundamentally unchanged. After this war Christendom will never be what it was before. Without doubt drastic steps must be taken in regard to nations as well as to individuals, so long as the world has not found some new sort of balance. But it will never find that balance, if there is a fundamental hypocrisy at the bottom of the peace. What is resolved should be resolved for the sake of the future and not with the idea that a peace, ending a bloody war and brought about by weapons, could ever have the authority of absolute international justice. How could it otherwise be possible for the defeated ever to return to the natural community of nations?

Reconciliation and international loyalty

This question is the more vital since the situation after the war will be so extremely dangerous. The task of forming a new international loyalty will meet with many risks and many forms of resistance. And the spirit of all the world is severely damaged by all the brutality it has had to face. There have been positive experiences too, as was already said above, and in the long run they could possibly be brought to mean more than the others. But to begin with we will have to meet a spiritual post-war crisis that will not be easily overcome. The question is then how we shall all be able to help one another, as soon as possible. The aim must be that all nations should be able after not too long a time to trust each other again. That will always be a dangerous experiment, whenever it happens, but it must be tried.

The Church knows that we all live by the pardoning grace of Jesus Christ and that none of us is guiltless. It will be its duty at the coming peace to preach the righteousness but also the humility and reconciliation that the world needs. It will have to resist tendencies to indict whole nations in their actual existence or in their total historical tradition. It must also try to restrict, as much as possible, the number of the so-called war criminals. Where there is question of *re-educating* peoples, the Church, which may be said to be an expert in re-education, will have to point out the dangers of making spiritual values distasteful by showing contempt for the pupils or by forcing things on them from without. In the whole question of judging the defeated it will be the task of the Church to show, above all human Courts, the Lord who judges us all and who shall judge the world.

The Story of the Orphaned Missions

A. L. Warnshuis

"The light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." In commenting on that verse, George Matheson, the blind poet, has somewhere written, "Is there any greater comfort than the faith in an overruling providence? Is there any higher satisfaction possible to a human mind than the belief that God will some day scatter our darkness and shine forth resplendent? Yes, there is possible a higher comfort than that—the comfort of knowing that the darkness is itself God's shining." Not at some future time only will we see the good in our present distress, but even now the darkness may be God's fresh revealing. In the world of Christian missions, the wars in Asia and Europe have already given us a fresh revelation of God's loving care and of the reality of the universal fellowship of Christians in all lands.

The tide of war

We were not wholly unprepared for the outbreak of war in 1939. Some of us had had experience in the previous world war and we knew the meaning of "enemy alien" as applied to missionaries. We had shared in those successful arrangements by which the property of German missions in British colonies had been separated from other "enemy alien property", placed in the care of special trustees, and in five years after the war returned to the original owners,—the missionary societies in Germany. The principle of the special character of missionary property, as being devoted to the welfare of the people, we had seen written into the Versailles treaty. And in July, 1939, I conferred at length with the leaders of the German missionary societies in Berlin, and we agreed upon definite plans and certain procedures to be adopted in the event of war. Those plans were confirmed at an international committee meeting in Holland two weeks later.

When war was declared in September, those plans became immediately effective. Shortly, within two weeks or so, we were able to announce that all missionary property would again be safe-

guarded and all missionaries would receive special consideration. In the months that followed, these prearranged plans were realised. The details I cannot relate now. But we were measurably satisfied in the spring of 1940 that missionary interests were being well safeguarded.

Then—Denmark was overrun, Norway was invaded, Holland and Belgium were overwhelmed and France was partitioned—in those fateful months of April, May, and June, 1940. We had no prearranged plans to meet that situation. Now we had to provide not only for the German missions, but for all the large missions of the Danish, Norwegian, and Finnish churches, for the magnificent work of the Dutch churches in the Netherlands Indies, where there are more Christian converts than in all Japan, China, Korea, Philippines and Thailand combined, and we were concerned for the continuance of the missions of the French Protestants in West Africa, South Africa, Madagascar, and Oceania. All of these missions—a careful survey that we made listed 168 missions, with 3,500 missionaries, and $4,500,000 annual contributions from Europe—were effectively separated from their parent churches in Europe. No more money could be transmitted and no direct communication was permitted. In most cases, this happened over night, without warning, and very few had resources in reserve for such an emergency. In Netherlands India, this occurred on May 10th and they had not yet cashed their remittances for April, so the missions there began this experience with their funds a month in arrears.

The fulfilling of a promise

We then began to talk of "Orphaned Missions" and with scriptural warrant. The familiar verse—"I will not leave you comfortless" (John 14: 18) is translated in the margin more accurately—"I will not leave you orphans." The same Greek word is used by Paul in writing to the Thessalonians (I Thessalonians 2: 17) where the translation is "being bereaved of you for a season". The parent churches in Europe have been "bereaved" of their missions and missionaries "for a season", but they have not abandoned hope and their missionary zeal is unabated. The missions are "orphans" but the promise is "I will not leave you orphans". The challenge to the churches in America and in other lands where they were still free to give help was whether we would offer ourselves and our money

to fulfil that promise that these "orphans" might not be "comfortless".

We were told that the lights in Europe were going out. We believed they would not be extinguished—the windows would be heavily curtained, the "blackout" might seem complete—but within the churches and homes and hearts the lights are still burning. But what of the younger churches in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, to whom the light of the Christian Gospel had been brought by European missionaries? Would these candle-lights be snuffed out by the war in Europe? That was the haunting fear, and we issued a call for $2,000,000,—$500,000 in other lands, and $1,500,000 to be given by Christians in America over and above all their other missionary giving which of course must be maintained. Could this be done? We believed it could. Would this be done? We believed it might be. It would mean, we estimated, that the work of the missions that was essential to sustain the life of the younger churches might be continued. There would be greatly reduced budgets, much sacrifice and some suffering, but our prayer and effort was to maintain the essentially important service of the missionaries. Now in how far has our faith been rewarded as we look back on these years of war?

Unbroken fellowship

The fellowship between Christians in all lands is unbroken. Travel has been increasingly difficult, international meetings have been impossible, and mails are slow and irregular and expensive. We have resorted to the use of radiograms and airmails by clipper planes. But the steady interchange of letters and cablegrams had been uninterrupted up to the time of the declaration of a state of war by the American government. For the time being we were cut off from all direct communications with Japan, Germany, and Italy and the countries under their control, but we endeavoured to restore communications through authorised neutral channels. In the second week of December, 1941, for example, i.e., in the week following December 7th, we received letters from twelve countries, Japan, China, Philippine Islands, Thailand, Netherlands India, Camerouns, Germany, France, England, Scotland, Denmark and Switzerland. During these years letters have been exchanged with Christians in every country in which there is a National Christian Council or a missionary conference. Many of these letters cannot yet be printed, nor the

names of the writers mentioned. The letters are all passed by the censor and they come through authorised channels. But it is not helpful or healthy in certain countries to advertise the fact that certain individuals are maintaining contacts with Christian friends in other lands. However, the reality of this great and precious Christian fellowship that is being maintained so steadily ought to be more widely known and appreciated.

Some of the words of that message delivered at Madras at Christmas time 1938 still echo strongly. "The decade since last we met has witnessed the progressive rending of the fabric of humanity; it has witnessed an increasing unification of the body of Christ. As we meet here, from over sixty nations out of every continent, we have discovered afresh that that unity is not merely an aspiration but also a fact. . . . Our nations are at war with one another; but we know ourselves brethren in the community of Christ's church. Our peoples increase in suspicion and fear of one another; but we are learning to trust each other more deeply through common devotion to the one Lord of us all. Our governments build instruments of mutual destruction; we join in united action for the reconciliation of humanity. Thus in broken and imperfect fashion, the Church is even now fulfilling its calling to be within itself a foretaste of the redeemed family of God which He has purposed humanity to be. . . . By faith, but in deep assurance, we declare that this body which God has fashioned through Christ cannot be destroyed."

Unfailing assistance

Those are not empty words idly spoken. "There is no virtue in being moved to tears if we are moved to nothing else. Sentimentality is no indication of a warm heart. Nothing weeps more copiously than a block of ice." Good impulses are dangerous unless one acts upon them.

So with joy we point to the record that the sustaining financial aid given to "Orphaned Missions" in these years has been one of the ways in which those Madras words have been translated into warm, living, factual realities. No brief summary can adequately express these facts. The whole story cannot be told as yet. But listen to this report[1].

[1]This report was actually given in 1942, and, while it remains substantially accurate, the situation is altering all the time.

Every mission, regardless of nationality or creed, that has been separated by war from its parent church in Europe and has been known to be in distress, has received such help as was needed to maintain all work that was essential to the life of the younger churches. Our records show that aid has been given to missions in every part of the world. So far as is now known, not one missionary has been withdrawn from active service because of any lack of financial support. No figures can show fully the large amount of aid given by British, Dutch, Swedish and American missions that have detached some of their missionaries to give assistance to neighbouring missions deprived of their staff because of internment measures. In one African colony, for example, one of the German women missionaries was interned in the household of the English Bishop, who accepted responsibility for her. She was given work teaching in the Girls' School, releasing an English woman missionary for work in the villages.

Churches, older and younger, in all parts of the world have contributed to this cause. Our report lists twenty countries from which money has come. Information about all these gifts is continuously compiled in the New York office of the International Missionary Council, and in this way the total fund is administered as a whole, the special interests of the donors have been observed, duplication in the giving of aid has been avoided, and no mission in distress has been knowingly neglected. Even an almost unknown Swedish missionary in Ethiopia, who succeeded in hiding himself in the villages during the Italian occupation and the British reoccupation was discovered and is receiving aid. All this has been a demonstration of the effective world-wide organisation of our missionary movement in the International Missionary Council.

No high pressure campaign was necessary to raise these funds; a fraction has been spent for administration and most of the work has been done by the regular International Missionary Council staff—for the churches have very generally responded spontaneously to this appeal. The interdenominational character of the appeal has awakened a response that is most encouraging. The money in the United States has been given by churches that are called Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Disciples, Reformed, Evangelical Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Brethren—and so the list runs on. All over this land in thousands of churches men and women have given of their money—not for missions of their

own church only—but for missions of the Universal Church. That is a great fact to remember when we sometimes wonder whether the missionary spirit will persist in this time of war.

The strengthening of fellowship

What this will mean in cementing the bonds of fellowship between Christians in all lands can hardly be described. On September 6, 1941, the Director of the Berlin Missionary Society wrote this: "The help given to the younger churches that have developed from the work of the German Evangelical Missions is not only of great value in a material sense but is also a deed of idealistic value that cannot be estimated too highly. It is a real strengthening of faith in these days when the world everywhere is experiencing such great changes, that the brotherly love of those who have a common faith holds steadfast. Here at home there is great joy because the fellowship which we were able to express at Madras has until now been unbreakable by anything. Therein lies encouragement for the future. It will be for us in Germany a great pleasure if after the war opportunity can be given to us to help other missions even as we are now being helped. For that we even now wait. God bless your faithful and self-sacrificing work during this anxious time. . . ."

The light shineth in the darkness—the darkness itself is a fresh revealing of God.

An American secretary has described the meaning of this united sharing of burdens in these sentences. "The World Christian Community is a demonstrated fact. Amid uncertainties these facts stand sure. Against the blackness of war this ministry of the Church stands as a great light, pointing the way to the future. Even as the Cross is the eternal symbol of beauty redeeming ugliness, of victory arising out of defeat, so are these broken parts of the Church bringing a revelation of the unity of the body of Christ. The miracle of love is again triumphant."

The churches in Europe have not abandoned their missions. Only governmental restrictions prevent them from transmitting their funds. Their missionary spirit and devotion is unshaken. They have been bereaved for a time of their missions, but they are preparing to resume the support of these missions as soon as possible. In the autumn of 1940, after Great Britain had experienced the devastating effects of total war, Lord Halifax, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the midst of the Battle of London,

wrote: "I am quite clear that the support of foreign missionary work in time of war is an essential part of the Church's witness. I should much regret if the responsibility which Christian people rightly feel towards the special needs and charities that press upon us in war time should lead them to desert this permanent and universal Christian obligation. . . ." The European churches have not reasoned that taxes and high costs of living and relief appeals excused them from this "permanent and universal Christian obligation". In Holland, in June, 1941, the societies ordained five new missionaries to be ready to go to the Netherlands Indies the moment the doors are opened. The Swiss societies, cut off from the support they formerly received from the churches in South Germany, have refused to call for aid. From Germany and France and Norway come similar reports. The churches in Great Britain have not only maintained their missions, but have also aided those of other countries.

Glory in the Church

It is for the sake of the "younger churches", that their candle lights may not be snuffed out, that this aid has been given. Our Berlin friend testifies that it was not what was done for German missionaries but because these "younger churches" are being helped that the bonds of Christian fellowship are strengthened. Of their sustained life, renewed hope, self-sacrificing devotion, increasing self-support, union and co-operation, more zealous evangelism and the addition to the church of many who are being saved,—of all these things there is not space to write now, but let me suggest briefly something of the fundamental importance of this sustaining aid. The recurring theme of thanksgiving in the New Testament is not for "peace in our time" nor for "our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life". Most often, it is for the little groups of newly won converts. "Not many wise, not many leading men, not many of good birth" were among them. They were factious, quarrelsome, ostentatious, and often morally weak. Celsus sneered that Christianity was a slaves' religion, fit only for the lower classes! Why was Paul moved to such fervent praise as he surveyed these groups of new-born Christians? It was simply because with all their faults and mistakes, their ignorance and weakness, these men and women were committed to the only way of life that held any promise for the world.

But think of the churches of the mission field. There were those two delegates at the International Missionary Council meeting at Madras, one Chinese, the other Japanese, who refused to let national policy come between Christian fellowship; there is the Indian church, increasingly uncomfortable in the presence of the caste system; there is the Muslim convert church at Teheran that reached out to overstep old racial and religious differences. Consider the group of Muslim girls in a mission school at Bagdad who came to their head-mistress to plead for the admission of a Jewish pupil, saying that they would make room for her—and that at a time when Jewish-Arab riots in Palestine were inflaming the whole Near East.

It is groups like these, the fruit of the mission of the Church, sown through the length and breadth of the world, which are the hope of tomorrow. For all we can say of them, they are still trying to build life on that foundation than which none other can endure. Feeble they are, and weak, and often mistaken; but pluck them out of life and with them all the tangle of influences they weave into the world, and "Ossa upon Pelion" would not fill the pit!

When Paul, at the end of his fateful, tempest-tossed journey to Rome, came at last to Italy, he found awaiting him at Puteoli a little band of Roman Christians. Slaves they were, in all probability, for we know that such formed the early Roman Church, yet when the apostle saw them they seemed as a light shining in darkness; he "thanked God, and took courage". Lift up your eyes to the world's horizons in this dark hour. See!—there, and there, and there—are gleams of the fellowship of Christ; men like ourselves labouring under the spell of His vision. Thank God for them—thank God and take courage. Not for what they are,—but for what they stand for—the only hope of the world—we pray and labour that the life of these younger churches today may be saved. A letter of thanks from Tahiti in the South Pacific contained this sentence: "For us Christmas will always be Christmas." On them, too, the bright and morning Star of God's love in Christ has shown, and till the day of God's full revealing dawns we shall not fail them. The darkness is itself God's shining, and this brotherly aid has been renewed and convincing proof of the reality of God's loving care. In our shattered, confused, apprehensive world there remains one

and only one unshattered, undaunted, resolute world community —the world-wide Christian Church and its missionary enterprise.

Has there ever been anything like this before in history? We now understand why just before the outbreak of war God brought representatives of the world-wide Church together at Oxford, Edinburgh, Madras and Amsterdam. He forged a fellowship that is standing the strain of war today and is functioning across the frontiers of nations and also over the barriers of denominations. The miracle of the realised oneness in that family that is the Church will find its consummation as thousands more join in helping those everywhere who in their travail believe they are not forgotten by their brother-members with them of the body of Christ.

Thus, in broken and imperfect fashion, the Church is even now fulfilling its calling to be within itself a foretaste of the redeemed family of God which He has purposed humanity to be. By faith, but in deep assurance, we declared that this body which God has fashioned through Christ cannot be destroyed.

The World Church and Reconciliation

Hachiro Yuasa

The Church-as-it-is-to-be is all potent for the gigantic responsibility of the reconciliation of broken humanity. The Church-as-it-is, however, unredeemed and burdened with the weaknesses inherent in all human institutions is to all intents and purposes impotent to meet the challenge of this historic hour. This is at once a disappointment and a hope: an accusation and a faith. There was a time, I must confess, when I was naïve enough to take the Church indiscriminately and seriously and thought that it was a very important factor in the prevention of war and in the maintenance of peace, scarcely realising that it can also be a factor for the promotion of war and for the disturbance of peace as it has turned out to be so many times in history. But that was when I did not know a thing about the behaviour pattern of the churches in time of war in the world in general and in America in particular. I should hesitate to say such a thing in the circle of the Church at large. I know I would be misunderstood. But students are universally different. At least I still feel that they are different, a little more open-minded, a little more critical, and perhaps a little more humble. Is this my wishful thinking? I wonder. Any way let me be frank for the time being.

I know that the Church speaks well for peace in time of peace. I know that the Church has done well in its humanitarian service to war's victims. I know that the Church has produced prophets and martyrs for the cause of peace. Just the same I do not believe that the Church in its present condition is ready for the holy duty of reconciliation. How can it be? The unredeemed Church is too heavily burdened with sin.

The failure of the Protestant churches

I do not mean for a moment that the Church has sinned because of its silence. It has not even in the axis countries and certainly not in America. The Church has spoken and spoken repeatedly on the major issues of the world. In fact I almost think that the Church has spoken too often. Its verbosity is one of its weaknesses. But this is a minor fault. The most menacing fact is that the Church speaks without authority. It speaks

without authority, not necessarily because of its organisational divisions, illogical and damaging as they are, but because the Church-as-it-is is practically indistinguishable in its opinions, judgments, and behaviors from the pagan public. In time of peace it is for peace, of course. But in time of war, it is for war. The Church tends to be internationalistic in time of peace, but nationalistic in time of war. The most disillusioning thing is that the Church behaves sooner or later just about the same, in time of war, in any country. And there is no nation which is Christian in the true sense of the word. No, not one. In this respect the Church has forfeited its spiritual authority through its secularism. Subtract common decency and universal wisdom, which are after all common to all peoples and to all religions, what is there that makes the pronouncements of the Chrisitan Church in recent years uniquely authentic and spiritually realistic?

Again generally speaking, the Church-as-it-is is sadly ignorant. It is ignorant of world issues, of its own prejudices, of its own complacency, and even of its own ignorance. It is shamelessly arrogant in passing judgment. It defies Christ directly at this point. No amount of protestation of its being penitent can change the fact that it is swift to judge and to condemn, but slow to understand and to forgive. Thus the Church sins by moral arrogance.

The irresponsibility of the churches

The Church devitalises itself by its perfectionist system of organisation. Organisation calls for technique of operation. Technique calls for a committee and the committee inevitably calls for a resolution. If committee-forming and resolution-passing are signs of spiritual vitality, the church certainly is alive. In fact it appears to be super-vital. But is it not time to stop and ask ourselves how far this sort of thing has helped to reconcile men with men and nations with nations? How much nearer are we to the realisation of universal peace? Have these committees and resolutions gone very far beyond producing more committees and more resolutions, while war stays a sinister reality and peace a remote hope?

Of course I do not imply that these resolutions are futile or wrong. No doubt they have their own value. Besides some of them sound grand, inspiring and far-reaching. Sometimes they really strike wisdom and radiate hope. But what is most annoying about them is the prevailing freedom to be democratically

irresponsible. The leaders may be clear-visioned and agree, but the rank and file are far behind, often confused, and usually disagree not only among themselves but with their own leaders. So the magnificent resolutions remain highly gratifying to the authors and merely educational to others. Thus in the end, no one seems to be really responsible for the implementation of the noble principles promulgated or for paying the price of the consequences of these pronouncements. Under the circumstances, the repudiation of the resolutions by action or rather by inaction becomes an amoral habit. This apparent irresponsibility for opinions expressed or published seems to apply equally well to the Christian press, Christian writers and speakers. Of course if any one were to be misled by their shifting opinions or misguided by their oscillating judgments, the fault is entirely his own. He should have known better. But just the same, it is very irksome. I am indeed a bit weary of this interminable series of committee-meetings and resolution-making by the Protestant churches. It certainly does not help the cause of reconciliation. Sometimes it is really obnoxious because it even augments the cause of war.

Lack of guidance from the Catholic Church

If the Protestant churches are so irritatingly fragmentary and vociferously irresponsible, how about the Catholic Church? Here one finds all the comfort of unity and the security of hierarchical ideology. The Catholic Church, in contrast to the Protestant churches, can and does speak unitedly, authentically and responsibly when it speaks through the Pope. The papal pronouncements are responsible statements of the responsible head of the Catholic Church. Comforting and authentic as they are, when one scrutinises their contents, one is apt to be bewildered by the catholicity of the positions taken and the fluidity of the attitudes assumed by successive Popes. The Vatican has been equally busy in producing documents related to the questions of war and peace. But even the more recent ones overwhelm one by their benign generality rather than by their discerning relevancy. With reference to the state or the political power, its position is too often obscurantist and makes for appeasement rather than for creative guidance.

Naturally these observations do not encourage me to hold much hope that the Church-as-it-is can be a chief instrument for reconciliation. It is with a sense of frustration that I view its present ineffectiveness which practically amounts to the betrayal

of its sacred mandate to be the reconciler and the peace-maker in this tragic world of ours. Startlingly I am forced to seek the light of salvation somewhere else. Light I must find. But where?

The promise of the Church

In this search for light I find myself driven inevitably to the Church-as-it-is-to-be. For, sinful and unredeemed though it is, the Church after all in its innate concept and in its basic message is still full of promise for reconciliation and peace-making. I even believe that it can be effective even now if it really awakens to its potential usefulness as an institution of healing and service, spiritually as well as materially. And it is definitely in the ecumenical reality of the Church, that is, the World Church, that I find both the conceptual and practical bases for my faith in the potentialities of the Church. The World Church is today the one remaining universal institution which is standing the acid test of war and is still bearing witness to the unity of humanity, regardless of colour, race, nationality, or history. It is here that the basic concept of human brotherhood and divine Fatherhood finds its triumphant affirmation. The World Church is inter-racial. It is really supra-racial. This fact is most important because of the magnitude and gravity of the race problem in the post-war world. There are Christians of all colours and races in the nations at war. Yet some of them at least are keeping faith with each other across the battle line and are being drawn together closer because of the unspeakable tragedy of the Church's betrayal of its prophetic mission and our share in the guilt. The bond of common penitence binds these Christians together all over the world. The fellowship of common suffering is sustaining them and illuminating their narrow path in these darkest hours of our history. It is this Christian fellowship which unites all these Christians on both sides of the war that gives the reality to the World Church at this stage of Christian history. And it is in this World Church built on the reality of ecumenical Christian fellowship that I find the healing light of reconciliation for broken humanity.

Where the strength of the Church lies

The World Church should guard against the prevailing fallacy of gauging the spiritual potency of a church in terms of quantitative measures—membership, organisation, architecture, legal

status, wealth, popular support, etc. These are the very things which have often misled the unthinking mass of church-going people to take it for granted that they are Christians because they have joined the church and support it. These people in the so-called Christian countries are no more Christians in the true sense of the word than the people in the so-called Buddhist countries are Buddhists in the true sense of the word. In this respect, I cannot escape the impression that there exists a strange kinship between American Christians and Japanese Buddhists. Both are respectable, comfortable, and in the numerical majority in their respective countries, and they are perhaps equally foreign to the spirit and the way of their avowed leaders, Christ and Buddha. The World Church is a spiritual entity and as such its power is not in things seen or in resources computable. Its strength is in things unseen and in resources incomputable. In other words, the World Church needs no membership registry or dues in order to function as it should. But it should do everything possible to safeguard its genuine Christian spirit and truth. The World Church should maintain, above everything else, the purity and flavour of the salt and leaven of the Kingdom of God in the essentially pagan world.

The World Church must be a church in penitence. It will remain, therefore, permanently an unpopular minority church. The universal law of spiritual growth, however, somehow demands fertility of the soul's soil in terms of penitence. The spiritual malnutrition of the otherwise prosperous-looking modern church is precisely the cause of its trouble. It has grown too fat in arrogance and too soft in complacency. Average Christians are ashamed of being penitent in these days. Even the Church leaders reflect this general trait. Read the great resolutions and grand pronouncements of the Church; you will readily discover that they are very apologetic at being penitent and, after paying as cursory a respect, as is possible with decorum, to penitence, rush on to the more engaging business of passing judgment on others. Nothing has shocked me so much in the last few years in America as has this one fact.

Forgiving the unforgivable

To my way of thinking, only a penitent church can seek forgiveness; only a seeking church can be forgiven; only a forgiven church is qualified to forgive. And it is all-important here to remember that to forgive the forgivable is not a really

Christian forgiving. We truly forgive only when we forgive the unforgivable. This must be so, if Christ's own words on this matter mean anything at all. I for one feel most deeply on this question. Perhaps I am old-fashioned. But I sincerely believe that Christ meant the forgiving of the unforgivable. Forgiving the unforgivable is not the unpractical ideal of a moralistic dreamer either. The validity of this dynamically Christian formula for reconciliation and peace is the universal experience in life everywhere in the world, down throughout the ages. One need not live long to learn in the school of life that the best and often the only way of reconciliation and peace for men with men is through this narrow portal of unconditional forgiving. We all know that justice alone often fails to bring about reconciliation among people. Justice must be sweetened by love if it is to heal the wounded heart. Even the closest of human relationships such as husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and friends, constantly require the healing protection of forgiving love. The verity of Christianity is proved and its relevancy for our daily life is vindicated just at this point.

Finally I come to what I conceive to be the unique revelation of Christianity, the spirit and the way of the Cross. The Cross is the basic message of the World Church. The way of the Cross is the way of life for Christians enfolded in its ecumenical fellowship. To me the Cross of Christ is the eternal symbol of redeeming love—love which not only forgives the unforgivable but *suffers* for the unforgivable so that they may be saved. Humanity has not heard more revealing words than those Christ uttered on the Cross, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." Having crucified Christ again through this war, our daily prayer must be "Father, forgive us for we know not what we do." When one forgives, judgment is precluded, already rendered worthless in forgiving. Why should we, sinners all, insist on sitting on the judgment seat? Our stupidity and arrogance are simply devastating. Again Christ's words ring in my trembling heart, "Judge not".

The World Church consists of a contrite few of Christians of all races and nations, heartbroken because of the sin of the world, truly penitent and genuinely forgiving, united in the spirit and the way of the Cross. This Church, and only this Church, can be the reconciler among men and the restorer of peace among nations.

Churches and Governments

Roswell P. Barnes

What can the Church do toward rebuilding the world after the war? This question is raised in many quarters, not only by the church people. Many who have not taken the church seriously in the past are raising the question now because they are aware of the necessity of moral reconstruction and because they have observed evidences of new vitality in the life of the churches in some places. The church people are raising the question because they have seen in the rapid development of the ecumenical movement in recent years a new factor which may have an important influence in world affairs. There are other reasons why people are thinking about the work of the Church in the post-war world, but these are major.

It is recognized immediately that the practical decisions determining the structures and the processes of international relationships will be made by governments. But governments are presumably subject to influence. How, then, can the Church influence what the governments will do so that we may move toward a just and durable peace?

In the first place, the Church cannot appropriately be regarded as one unified institution in considering the relation between the Church and government in international affairs. The Church should rather be thought of primarily as a fellowship. We are therefore largely concerned with *the churches* as institutions having corporate structures, and therefore appropriately to be considered in relations with governments, which are likewise corporate bodies. In speaking of the churches, we have in mind not only separate units incorporated within separate countries but also international institutions such as the Roman Catholic Church, with headquarters at the Vatican.

It is useful to observe the various types of relationship prevailing between churches and governments, determining the various channels through which the churches may influence the policies of governments.

The following classification is only rough, involving superficial analysis, to establish the point that a great variety of relationships prevails and that therefore generalisations on a world scale are very difficult. Within each type there are wide variations. A careful analysis would indicate that there are almost as many types of relationships as there are countries and churches.

The International Structure of the Churches

The Roman Catholic Church is international, and has relations with national governments, not only through the national branches of the church but also through the Vatican State and the Papal Delegates as agents of the Vatican State. Thus this church, international in its structure, has also a political instrument which provides channels of communication and influence. The other churches have no such political instrument. As a result of the combination of national branches and political instruments, the Roman Catholic Church can negotiate concordats. It can also provide for communications through the medium of the Vatican State to the churches in the various countries.

The Orthodox Churches have no political State or world hierarchy equivalent to those of the Roman Catholic Church, but they do have a measure of ecclesiastical similarity and community larger than that prevailing among the other non-Roman churches as a group. Therefore, through sister churches in the various countries there is a possibility of exerting direct influence upon governments in the interest of common policy if such a common policy be achieved. However, since the Orthodox churches are generally national in scope and structure, they tend to be much more nationalistic in policy than do the branches of the Roman church.

The Protestant Churches, considered collectively, are basically a spiritual fellowship without a common political program. Together with some of the Orthodox churches they have set up international institutions or agencies such as the International Missionary Council, the World's Sunday School Association and the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, which are primarily channels of international communication between the various churches, with administrative functions limited largely to ecclesiastical matters and to common services. These agencies serve as channels for the study of problems of mutual concern, for the promotion of conferences and the provision of services

such as, for example, to missionaries cut off by war from their home churches, to prisoners of war and to refugees. These agencies are important in developing and preserving spiritual community. They have a negligible influence on government policies, except with regard to their own work, and then largely through the churches within the several nations, rather than through direct approach by an international agency to national governments.

The relations between Churches and Governments

To indicate the wide variation in the possibilities of influence of the churches upon the governments of their respective states, six roughly defined types will be suggestive:

1) The State church, whether Roman Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant. It has a direct channel to government through which influence may be exerted. The effectiveness of that influence varies according to the prestige and political power of the church, but it is generally large. Examples: the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, the Orthodox Church in Greece, the Lutheran Church in Sweden and the Church of England.

2) The Free churches, constitutionally largely independent of government subsidy or control, in a state traditionally or nominally Christian, where there is no State church. The channel of influence upon government is largely indirect, through public opinion, through prestige or through the relationship of church leaders to government leaders. Examples: Switzerland, Canada, the United States.

3) The Free church as a minority group in a state where a State church or a dominant Free church has major influence. No generalisation as to channels of influence is possible, except that they are indirect and variable. Examples: Reformed churches in France and Free churches in Rumania.

4) The church in a state, traditionally non-Christian, where the churches suffer no constitutional disabilities. The channels of relationship with government are indirect and the influence dependent entirely upon prestige achieved by merit or as a result of association with politically useful or powerful "Christian nations". Social disabilities or prejudice may limit this influence even where there are no constitutional or

legal disabilities. The foreign political associations may impair influence rather than enhance it. Examples: China, Japan.

5) The church in a state traditionally non-Christian and which suffers constitutional or legal disabilities. These have no regular channels of relationship with governments. Their influence is negligible except as it may result from their being associated with politically useful or powerful "Christian nations", which association may be as much a liability as an asset in influence. Examples: Egypt, Iran.

6) The church in a state traditionally Christian but at the present imposing constitutional or legal disabilities on all churches. It has no regular channels of relationship with government and its influence is practically negligible on national policy. Examples: Russia, Mexico. It should be noted that both of these examples are of countries in which formerly, for long periods, a church had had monopolistic, direct and powerful political influence.

These wide variations of relationship and influence must be taken into account as practical considerations in estimating the possible influence of the churches on international political actions of states in the interest of world order. Few uniform procedures are possible for the Christian churches around the world.

The generally prevailing procedures, especially among the non-Roman churches, would seem to be these:

A. Educating and influencing public opinion with regard to basic ethical and moral principles which should underlie national policy with regard to international relations.

B. Consultation and conference with government leaders; occasional advocacy of specific measures by testimony before legislative groups.

C. Analysis of current government policies in terms of the principles advocated as in A. above.

D. Urging the acceptance of the responsibilities of Christian vocation in citizenship, which require (1) that the individual, on the basis of his enlightened Christian judgment, support as a citizen those national policies which most closely approximate an application of Christian principles and (2) that he support public leaders who are committed to such policies.

However, having suggested that these are the most generally prevailing ways of influencing national policy, we should bear in mind the wide deviations from these ways in the practices of many churches. Some show little concern for national political policies in principle, regarding such matters as lying in a realm beyond the concern of the churches. At the other extreme are churches which mobilise their constituencies to act *as church groups* to elect or defeat a candidate for public office or to support or oppose by direct political action a pending legislative measure. Other churches seek, through their officials, to direct the action of government officials.

Major Responsibilities of the Churches

It would appear to the writer that the three major responsibilities of the churches in exerting influence upon governmental policies toward the establishment of an international order conducive to the maintenance of a just and durable peace should be as follows:

A. The churches in the ecumenical fellowship should achieve common agreement on the basic moral principles of national and international policy inherent in their common faith. Such agreement among the peoples of various nations, races and cultures is the basic need of the world today. Moreover, the aggressive promulgation of such principles is generally the most appropriate and most effective way of influencing and guiding political policies.

B. The several churches in their relationships and in their life as members of a world-wide fellowship should give a demonstration of the achievement of an orderly and mutually helpful community. The basic problem of world order is that of achieving world community in a moral or spiritual sense. This requires that peoples of different nations, races and cultures should learn to live together as members of a community. If the churches in their fellowship can achieve mutual understanding and community of essential purpose, they can bind the world together and thus build the necessary foundations for political order.

C. The churches should develop among their members a larger acceptance of the responsibilities deriving from the

Christian vocation in citizenship. Only thus will the basic principles formulated and promulgated by the churches become effective in political policy.

As examples of attempts to make effective the foregoing policies one may cite the formulation of principles achieved by the Oxford Conference and the educational work of the churches in calling those findings to the attention of their members. The informal conference in Geneva in 1939 provided another example; it formulated a memorandum which was the expression of a common agreement by churchmen of various nations and circulated the memorandum to be presented to leaders of governments in the ways most appropriate within the several nations, and promoted the widespread study of the memorandum in the churches. The Guiding Principles and the Statement of Six Political Propositions adopted by the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace (U.S.A.) conform to these policies; the latter document contains "middle axioms" which give more guidance to the individual than a mere statement of general principle and which stop short of commitment to one of several political proposals similar in purpose.

The writer regards the following considerations as supporting the above suggestions:

1. Where the churches do not assume responsibility for government in the secular order, they should not seek to control such government.

2. The churches have no special competence in the *technical* problems of government and therefore should not presume to exercise authority with regard to such problems.

3. When the churches become politically partisan or identify themselves with a particular régime, they risk repudiation when there is a change in régime, e.g., Russia.

4. For the churches to identify themselves with a particular political measure or institution is to encourage the community to rely too much upon it to the neglect of the ethical and moral disciplines and the redemptive factors which are essential to its success.

5. The indirect approach by the churches to government emphasises the responsibility of the individual Christian in

his dual capacity as a member of the Church and as a citizen of his country, thus strengthening both the Church and the State.

Even now, in the midst of war, the churches are making plans for the early post-war period which are in keeping with the suggestions we have been considering in this article. By bearing one another's burdens of relief and rehabilitation in practical ways they may consolidate and demonstrate true community. By holding an international conference of Christian leaders, both clerical and lay, as soon as practical arrangements can be completed, they may be able to formulate a statement of principles which will have great influence in determining political developments. By moving rapidly toward completing the organisation of the World Council of Churches, they may provide a deepening of fellowship and an effective agency for co-operation and united witness.

The hope that these purposes may be achieved rests upon the evidence of God's Spirit at work in the Church with power during these recent tragic years. We have been analysing the Church as a human institution; but such analysis leaves out of consideration the most important fact about the Church—its source, its power, its basis of unity are in God, who rules history and who works in ways beyond our understanding and our foreseeing.

The Ecumenical Church and the Ordinary Christian

R. Ambrose Reeves

In recent years there has been a growing consciousness among many Christians that the disunity of Christendom is a source of great weakness to the witness of the Church in the world, and also grievously impairs its own life. Readers of The Student World are well aware that in the years between two world wars the World's Student Christian Federation has played a worthy part in that movement which has become known as the ecumenical movement: a movement in which Christians drawn from many communions of the Church of God, standing together before God, have waited to be shown some way in which such divisions might be overcome. Through the years this endeavour has been sustained by the vision of the Ecumenical Church—the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, in the unity of which the rich diversity of the churches would find full expression in the *Una Sancta*. The years of war, with the increased pressure of external events upon the churches that they have brought with them, have meant an increase in ecumenical activity, and a deepening of the desire in many to do something to overcome what is often described as "the scandal of our unhappy divisions".

Confusion in ecumenical thinking

How does all this activity and effort appear to the ordinary Christian? In attempting to answer that question I am anxious to make it quite clear at the outset that all that follows is nothing more than some observations on this matter by one ordinary Christian who has seen something of work of this character in one corner of Great Britain. In no sense does it claim to be anything more than a few personal reflections upon the trend of events in certain religious circles. I say "certain" advisedly, because my impression is that the conception of the Ecumenical Church remains unknown to the great mass of ordinary people in all the churches. At the same time, there are other circles in which the phrase is so well known that it has almost become a cliché. Among such there are some who, while they talk a great deal about the Ecumenical Church, have had scarcely any experience of the ecumenical movement, as it has been experienced

by the Federation, and as a result use the words without giving them much more content than symbolising a desire to "get together" with members of other churches. In my more cynical moments I feel that much which passes today for ecumenical activity seems to be but another spiritual narcotic that men have discovered, and which they use to drug their minds so that they may escape facing the many disturbing realities in the contemporary religious scene. But at such times I am ever thankful that both in the ecumenical work in Anglo-Orthodox circles, and in the remarkably promising quality of much of the work of the Federation in this field in these last years I have been privileged to know other expressions of ecumenism.

Much of the co-operative work between Anglicans and Freechurchmen, and to a lesser degree with Roman Catholics also, has been crystalised in Religion and Life weeks; weeks in which members of various communions of the Church in England have striven to present together the Gospel message, and to show its relevance to life today to the people living in a particular locality. It may be said with some truth that we are too near to this particular expression of ecumenical activity to attempt to evaluate it, but we are bound to try and see the direction in which we are going, and the value or otherwise of the effort that is being made in such enterprises. It would be foolish to pretend that such co-operation has no value. In the first place these Religion and Life weeks imply the recognition that the differences which divide Christians from one another are less than those which divide Christians from all who are living without God. Secondly, they constitute a powerful challenge to that departmental position in the social life of men that religion has been content for too long to occupy. At the same time it would be as foolish to overlook certain weaknesses in much ecumenical activity at the moment, weaknesses which I believe are largely responsible for the fact that in some cases at least such efforts fail to make any very serious impact either upon the rank and file of the churches, or upon the masses who stand outside all forms of organised religion. In particular, much of this co-operation between members of the various churches is undertaken without any real understanding of one another's most serious convictions. Indeed, the danger is that such efforts may be made with little more than a desire, no doubt laudable in itself, to get together and do something. But I would suggest that such a desire is never a sufficient basis for serious ecumenical work, for that needs a clear

understanding both of the reasons for which such work should be undertaken, and of what it is that is to be done together.

The danger of unity at the expense of truth

Again, very largely because of the fact that there is often too little appreciation of the basic convictions of Christians in other churches, there is, I believe, a widespread assumption that the most pressing task of the moment is to relate religion to life. That is unquestionably true, and yet I am often compelled to ask why it is that Christians are finding it so appallingly difficult to do this. May it not be that the real reason for our difficulty is that all too frequently we have a far from adequate grasp of the Gospel entrusted to us in the Church by God, and as a result we fail to make any vital impact upon life. In other words, quite unintentionally no doubt, but nevertheless certainly, the desire to actualise the vision of the Ecumenical Church frequently means that unity is being sought at the expense of truth. As Canon G. W. Broomfield has recently said (page 214 in *Revelation and Reunion*): "Too high a price can be paid for unity. Truth and loyalty to truth must come first, for the sake both of the truth itself and of the Church's mission in the world. A divided Church, each part of which is convinced of the truth as it sees it, is more likely to convert the world than a Church united in uncertainty. The surrender of part of what is believed to be true, *for the sake of* unity with others, may well be followed by a weakening of faith in those things also which are held in common. The truth must come first, and no desire for unity can justify the abandonment of anything which is believed to be true."

It is far too soon to predict the probable effect of some of the work now being done in England which is termed ecumenical, but I have the uneasy suspicion that it may only succeed in still further weakening the already often pathetically weak sense of the Church among Christians in Britain, and reinforce the heresy, so powerful in our modern world, that there is no necessary connection between being a Christian and membership in the Christian community. The end of that would be only to make confusion worse confounded. Some observers would go much further than this and claim that such co-operation, which depends on an agreed silence upon much that is most valuable in the heritage of particular churches, will mean the substitution of some form of British religion for membership in the Church, which, whatever it may be, will not be Christianity.

Taking the Church, and therefore reunion, seriously

There is one further reflection that I believe must be made upon certain trends here in ecumenical work. I am increasingly convinced that ecumenical activity is slowly but surely disclosing the fact that at the moment the churches in England are in no fit state spiritually to unite with anybody. This means that there is a real danger that the concept of the Ecumenical Church, which I am convinced has been given to us by God (even though I believe its working out in these last years in England has often come to have a pattern rather remote from that which many of us in the Federation have known through its concern with ecumenism), may be used as a façade to cover up the inner spiritual poverty of the churches. In so far as ecumenical work discloses the sick condition of the churches it has tremendous value, even though that value formed no part of the original intention of those who initiated such activity. In other words, the most powerful impression left on me by some at least of the attempts to make the idea of the *Una Sancta* a reality is that the sin of division has eaten very deeply into the life of all the churches, and means that the Church of God is not only broken, it is spiritually diseased. Obviously the realisation that all is not well in the life of any church impels those who care for the church to do something for its cure. But I cannot believe that unity, important and urgent though it is, can ever of itself remedy the present spiritual weakness of the churches. It is very much as if a doctor confronted with a man suffering with cancer urged him to marry a woman suffering from tuberculosis in order to regain his health.

Does this then mean that the vision of the Ecumenical Church must be dismissed as a mirage, very much as a dreamer puts from him some fantastic dream when he awakes to grapple with the hard facts of everyday life? Certainly not, for as Father Thornton reminds us in *The Common Life in the Body of Christ* (p. 439), "The glory has been given; and so the Church is already the fulness of Christ. But the Church must grow into a 'perfect man', if the fulness of Christ is to be manifested. In both passages (i.e., Ephesians 4: 13 and John 17: 22, 23) the final fulness is thought of in terms of a perfected unity. Moreover in Ephesians and in the Pauline epistles generally there is the same further implication which is explicit in John 17: 23. The glory has been given for the perfect endowment and fulfilment of the Church; but the Church is not an end in herself. Her life is to

reach its fulfilment in order that 'the world may know that thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me'." Whatever may be torn from us in these searching times of God's judgment upon the Church we must cling fast to the vision that He has given us of the Body of Christ, even while we set ourselves resolutely against the temptation to find some cheap and easy way to heal the wounds in that Body. Perhaps it may be necessary for us to learn that we have no power in ourselves to overcome the sin of division in which all Christians share. Surely as we declare to the world that Christ alone can free men from the bondage of sin, we must be humble enough to hear that same redeeming word ourselves when the sin in question is *our sin,* and recognise that God alone can perfect the unity of the Church. That gift, we may be sure, He will freely give us when we are in a fit condition to use it as He wills it to be used. But this does not mean we have nothing to do except to cling to the vision of the One, Holy Church of which the Bible speaks to us. On the contrary there is very much that we must do, and do swiftly, if the Church which now in so many places knows more deeply the sorrow of Calvary than in former times is to know again the joy of Easter. First of all, we have to ask ourselves afresh whether we really believe that the Church is never a purely human organisation, but the household of God—the people of God, who are set apart to be the holy community in the life of which men may see reflected the love of God, and in which the Living Christ abides. If we do so believe, then we are bound to regard our membership in the particular church in which we find ourselves so seriously that we cannot rest until our whole life is lived within the living tradition of belief as it is held in that Church. In short, we are called to rediscover the riches of the heritage that is ours in that communion of the Church of God of which we are members. The immediate result of such a consecration on our part may well mean a hardening of the lines of division in Christendom as far as we ourselves are concerned. But I am persuaded that this would only be a passing phase of our spiritual experience, for the deeper we delve into the richness of faith and practice in our own communion of the Church the more certainly we shall desire the fulfilment of the Church in perfected unity. In any case, until we do come to live in the Church of God in some such way as this there is really little point in being interested in the ecumenical movement for we come

into it with empty hands unless we can bring with us the contribution of living experience that we have gained by living this church life in a particular communion of the Church of God. If our interest in the Ecumenical Church is little more than the establishment of a kind of spiritual cosmopolitanism, and we do not see it as the growth of the churches in all their fulness into the Church, then we should be better employed some other way.

The true ecumenical spirit

At the same time as God calls us to live the church life in that communion of His Church in which we dwell, we have also to become aware of the existence of other Christians in churches other than our own. Obviously none of us can ignore this fact, although it is quite possible to regard such Christians in such a way that their churchmanship is nothing more than a "label" that we attach to them. Yet this is nothing more than indifference even though it is often disguised by the name of "tolerance". Again it is possible to have merely a negative attitude towards other Christians, so that we regard them as folk to be overcome in argument, if not, as formerly, in battle. But I believe there is still another possibility before us, namely, of trying to discover what is true and valuable in those things which distinguish them from us. In *Revelation and Reunion,* to which I have already referred, the author says that this approach "would not be to prove that the other is wrong, but to discover in what sense, and to what extent he is right. Such an attitude to others is by no means irreconcilable with loyalty to one's own convictions." That I am persuaded is the true ecumenical spirit, even though it involves much more patience, humility, and a far greater readiness for hard work than the more spectacular gestures that are often claimed as ecumenical. Surely it is not the task of ecumenism to demonstrate unity where there is difference. Rather it is inspired by the desire that the churches may come to know one another in the fulness of their forms, with all their differences, conscious that, even while they remain divided from one another, they must keep the unity of the Spirit until they come to the unity of the Faith. Thus it is that those who would share in the ecumenical work of the churches must not only believe in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, but also in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, strong in the faith that, as our Lord has promised, He will lead us into all truth.

Thinking Ahead as Christians

GENEVA

The report of a meeting held on July 17th and 18th, 1943

The students who were present at Présinge in September 1942 met with others who had recently arrived in Switzerland at the house of Dr. Visser 't Hooft, Chairman of the W.S.C.F. Some of the questions raised at the *Kenilworth* meeting in February 1943 were specially considered by the three study commissions, so that the discussion begun last year at *Poughkeepsie* might be continued. Because of the smallness of our gathering, and the short time at our disposal we could only consider these questions from certain points of view.

Introduction

When we study certain problems which confront the Christian conscience we must not forget that in the occupied countries chaos is so great and threatens to be so much greater that any suggestions as to the future must always remain subject to revision. We must ask ourselves whether there will be any immediate possibility of reconstruction. For those who are daily witnessing the extent of destruction the very word reconstruction, so easily pronounced, may seem utopian. It is premature at present to dismiss the possibility of a new era of chaos, social, political and spiritual. Our first duty must always be to remain steadfast in the present condition of war, knowing that God may call us equally well to co-operate in a work of reconstruction or to witness to our faith in a chaotic world. It is without losing sight of the second alternative that we are pursuing our work of constructive thinking, always remembering that it is subject to revision.

Suffering and Fellowship

Our friends at Kenilworth wondered what bearing the experience of Christians in the occupied countries had upon other Christians, and what was the special witness of those Christians who are not living in countries that have been invaded. Here is the answer which our little group would like to offer. We have particularly given our attention in this study to the difficulties of renewed contacts between occupied and unoccupied countries.

The problem of hunger, with its psychological and moral repercussions, the weariness that overcomes the mind and weakens reactions, the continual attacks made by the occupying power on the national heritage and values, are painfully teaching Christians in occupied countries that suffering is not in itself a privilege in which they can glory or which they ought to seek.

The Christians who have passed through this period of trial may emerge fortified, but if this grace is granted them it must not be a cause of misunderstanding between them and their brothers in less tested countries; for in the Church of Jesus Christ it is true not only that if one member suffer all the members suffer with it, but also that if one member is honoured all the members rejoice with it. In the Church of Jesus Christ there is no room for spiritual jealousy.

The churches in the tested countries are finding daily that God gives them the strength required in their concrete situations. The churches in the countries which have been spared, should, when comparing themselves to the others, be less ready to seek experience which has not yet come to them, than to realise their present obedience, and prepare no less than the others, for the *true confession of their faith*. If we put the kingdom of God and His justice on the first level of our concern, the place and the conditions of our loyalty matter less than the quality of our committal. Everyone must undertake his personal responsibilities in the knowledge that it is the loyalty of his life that is in question and the refusal to judge his brothers.

If we consider the strictly human factors that enter into the situation, we must recognise that the suffering which ought to bring together countries that have been spared and those that have suffered, is in danger of separating them. Into the effort made by the "spared" countries to understand the "tested" countries, false ideas may enter, which are due to incorrect information. Goodwill alone is not enough to plumb the depths of suffering which cannot be imagined. The hypersensitiveness of those who have suffered adds to the difficulties of a rapprochement, which in many cases can only be made with bitterness. And yet the "spared" are for their "tested" neighbours, a reminder of a healthy and normal life which they must hope to recover in their own countries.

Between these two groups a real Christian fellowship must be re-established. There must be an effort to get information which is untinged by sentimentality, an exchange of opinions, and after the war, an exchange of people. But from this time onwards, there must be real discernment exercised in the choice and training of individuals who are to be sent into the "tested" countries to help in rebuilding their ruins and to be by their presence a sign of the solidarity of the nations.

In the Church of Jesus Christ faithfulness in intercession, after all, remains for both sides the surest means of remaining in fellowship and preparing for future meetings.

Our Attitude to Russia

The questions raised about Russia in the war seem to us particularly important, and we are glad to answer the questions raised by *Kenilworth* and by the International Commission of the British S.C.M.

The isolation preserved by the Russian people, the misconceptions about them from which we have suffered (particularly in judging their military might), the prejudices as well as the gratitude and hope they arouse in our minds make a sober judgment on our part imperative.

Particularly we must use soberness of judgment in answering the first question: "On what criteria and facts may we judge whether Soviet policy to Christianity is undergoing a permanent change?" Inherently nothing is permanent in a state which is founded on the principles of dialectic materialism. Such a state is able to justify theoretically any new direction taken by its policy. (Consider the insistence on *Russian* communism during the past ten years, and especially the renewal of national sentiment since the war began.) That is why the remarkable change which has taken place in the attitude of the government towards the Church is not in itself a recognition of the essential nature of the Church but a necessity, or rather a tactical decision. Nevertheless, the attitude of the State towards culture, the life of the family and the motherland itself, does seem to indicate that the communist tactics on the religious plane are more than a mere provisional manœuvre to meet the ends of propaganda. Nor must we forget that even if these tactics are in theory considered to be a bluff, yet they may bring with them practices which will uncover realities, with which the very manipulators of the tactics will themselves have to reckon hereafter. In any case the new freedom granted the Church in preaching and in action does not for the moment constitute the real freedom which the Church has a right to demand, because the Russian state seems to desire to welcome a Church whose concern is with heavenly matters, while on earth it blesses without hesitation the existing political and social system. The Orthodox Church is thus faced, under a new régime, with the old danger which was her undoing under the old régime namely, the danger of being bound up with the established order of things and thus paying for her privileges. (Compare the privileged position in the Baltic countries of the Orthodox clergy in comparison to those of the other persecuted denominations.)

When we turn to the second question: "For the Christian which is more important, freedom or social security?" we must first ask ourselves a question about our general attitude to this double fact: Russia and Communism—a union which has proved far more profound than we expected. We freely admit the love of truth and the vitality which have animated the history of Russia, as well as the effort at construction and organisation of these past twenty years, and the courage which has united the people during this war. But at the same time we fear that Russia may begin to practise an imperialism of great strength at the very moment when federalist solutions have a chance of succeeding elsewhere.

In order to take up a position in the face of Russian Communism the Church will need to give constant proof of imagination and at the same time of firmness. Drawing its membership as it does largely from the bourgeois class, who are *a priori* nervous about the communistic levelling process (mainly in a financial sense), it must treat warily all the reasons offered to it for opposing communism (the value of personality, rights of property, the lies of materialism and the primariness of spiritual values). Further, since it is aware of the political realism, in the bad sense, employed by Stalin, and the slogans of Marxist ideology which oversimplify and camouflage the truth, it will not attempt to set out the Christian hope based on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ as a rival theory alongside the promises of Marxist messianism, which are all based on the effort of man. For the Church makes answer to a question asked by God, and has no need to take its stand on the ground of a human utopia in order still to have the right to proclaim the good news of the Gospel.

In general, the Church, faced with a Communist Russia, must treat with great seriousness the two following positive factors: first, the theoretically humanist basis on which is built the criticism of society which we owe to Marx, Engels and Lenin; secondly, the renewal of the Russian national past, so full of life today, which does not automatically bring back with it the old Orthodox faith, but which may restore the notion of man as not only a technician of the five-year plan, or as an anonymous "comrade", but as a being who yearns, and suffers and hopes. The church must continue at all times to proclaim with certainty that this humanism destroys man, and that this nationalism becomes an imperialism which threatens the international order in so far as communism remains the Promethean effort to construct a perfect city without God. Wherever man resists the Spirit of God, there can be no question of true liberty or the emancipation of man. That is why we may not believe in the communist sophism that choice must be made between individual liberty and social justice. For the appreciable results obtained on the plan of social justice in Russia have been obtained by the use of

methods contrary to the commandments of God. We confess the sin of a Church which has forgotten to preach to the whole world. We believe that the Russian people will perish by its technical achievements, its regimentation or its imperialism unless the Lordship of Jesus Christ is proclaimed to it. We believe that this free preaching of a free Gospel will help it more than all our western liberal and bourgeois advice. We hope that a confessing Church which remembers that the earth is the Lord's will raise its voice and will in this way prove that its sufferings have shown it faithful in times of trial. Finally we hope that a Student Christian Movement will be reborn in Russia in close and living connection with that confessing Church.

The Bible and our Decisions

Here in conclusion are a few all-too-brief notes in an attempt to clarify one of the more delicate questions which has been raised between our Anglo-Saxon friends and ourselves.

The shipwreck of all the values on which European civilisation was founded has led us to return to the Bible, which is the source of our concrete decisions in personal and social life. We have studied the Bible, reading and understanding every text in the light of the whole revelation of Jesus Christ; one text by helping us to discover the precise meaning of certain key-words, has shed light upon another text, so that little by little we have seen our biblical horizon widen.

This study has made us understand that the main question in the Bible is the Lordship of Jesus Christ over the world. Human problems can only become clear for a Christian in so far as he submits himself to that Lordship. This is what our theologians express when they say they seek in the Bible not ready-made solutions but Jesus Christ, "the mystery . . . in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2: 3). It is He Who gives the Scriptures their authority and their unity. We are not asked to fall into biblical literalism, nor yet to introduce our particular points of view into the Bible but rather, once we have carried out a simple and honest exegetical study with results passing our expectation, to make our concrete decisions in the light of the revelation of His will for us which God gives us in Jesus Christ. It is true that if this christological study of the Bible has provided us with answers to certain burning questions (e.g. the Jewish problem—the doctrine of the State), we are still busy searching in the Bible for the answer to other questions. This study has given a new power to the preaching of the Church. For it is not only a message of individual salvation, but the proclamation of the Sovereignty of Jesus Christ over all the powers of the world.

And so we have been brought to understand the mission of the Church with regard to the State. The State is not subject to Jesus Christ in the same way as man is subject, for man is intended for eternal life, while the State has a purely provisional mission, to ensure order on earth. But this subjection of the State to God involves obedience to a law which the Church must reveal to the State. It is the Church's part to warn those who exercise authority when they are discovered to be transgressing God's order. So the Church must produce in its membership men who are sufficiently imbued with the biblical message to be able to lay bare the consequences of action on the plane of professional or civic life.

A Faith for Reconstruction

I

Statement by James L. Henderson

"For thus hath the Lord said, The whole land shall be desolate; yet will I not make a full end." Jeremiah 4: 27.

The value of thinking about the future in education is that it concentrates attention on fundamentals. That is something which Thomas Traherne realised when he wrote: "We studied to inform our knowledge, but knew not for what end we studied. And for lack of aiming at a certain end we erred in the manner."

The failure of liberalism in education

Realising the wicked futility of trying to twist the child plant into a pre-conceived pattern of growth, we had become before the war so fearful of "aiming at a certain end" that we had gone to the other extreme of altogether lacking an end and consequently erring most grievously in the manner. This was particularly apparent in the "new schools", where the insistence lay on *not* repressing the child, *not* forcing him to learn French if it displeased him, *not* making him play games, and—in extreme instances—*not* compelling him to wash or perform his natural functions in appropriate places. This negative emphasis was, however, a real sign of progress, and certain schools have done real pioneering work in striking out fresh paths in education. The only trouble is that these have led from the comfortable oasis of accepted tradition in schooling out into the arid desert which must be traversed before the next oasis can be reached. The result of the war is to confuse the process. Bringing with it, as it has, a far greater degree of authoritarian control in society as a whole, it has made those educationalists who had never even started their journey sit back comfortably and say: "I told you so! Old ways are best." It has made some of the more timid adventurers turn back in their tracks, and it has greatly perplexed the remaining few, who stand exposed in the desert and wonder how they are going to proceed. They feel they must proceed, and that there probably is another oasis not far away, but their present agnosticism cannot supply them with the creative energy necessary to continue the march.

That is one way of explaining the present predicament of educationalists whose tolerant liberalism has landed them in the paralysing contradictions of war, and left them contemplating rather wistfully the authoritarian regime of the older educationalists with their absolute principles and rigid moralities. "We can't go back to that," they murmur, and when, like Alice-in-Wonderland they ask: "But will you tell me please which way we ought to go from here?", they are greeted with the, to them, novel retort: "That depends a great deal on where you want to get to." In whatever field of education we are working now, and whether we are interested primarily in the future of elementary or secondary schools, university or teachers' training colleges, the basic two-fold problem is the same: Why am I growing in this world, and how can my growth help or hinder the growth of others? Here is my answer, which will have done its work if it provokes among fellow-educationalists, especially teachers and students of other countries, that creative agreement or constructive dissent which is the token of all true thought.

I believe that man is more than a highly-developed animal, that at his best he is largely a thing of spirit, partaking of and communing with God, Who is the conscious essence of all creation, at his worst still retaining a fragment of this divinity, capable of growing from worst to best, but not by his own unaided efforts, only when he enjoys the grace of God. His freedom consists in freedom to co-operate or not with the laws which seem to be the condition of God's presence in life. The greater his disciplined consciousness and therefore acceptance of these laws, the larger grows his sphere of potential co-operation. The accidents which he endures are unperceived design; the sins he commits are missed opportunities; his happiness lies in the fulfilment of God's design for him; his death is the normal fatality of freedom; his immortality is the achievement of a co-operation with the laws of life beyond their manifestation in space and time; and love is the redemptive act through which this necessarily fatal, and therefore tragic process attains its significance.

Order out of chaos

In what follows I shall try to apply these philosophical premises to the task of making a blue-print for students after the war. As an Englishman, I propose to work empirically. Confronted with a situation of chaos now, and even greater chaos when hostilities cease, how is the student to start? He is and will be a member of society, and before anything at all can be done in or outside the university there will have to be order. This order will be imposed by force of arms, by any power or group of powers strong enough to hold out the promise of providing the bare essentials of existence, food, clothing and housing. There will be a natural tendency even in this

extremity for the "haves" to distribute food, clothing and shelter only to those "have-nots" whom they regard as their friends. Weariness and hate will tend towards the exploitation of shock, and it is here that the student's first and hardest duty arises. If he has left the university already and is working in any kind of relief capacity, or if he is still *in statu pupilari* or a teacher, he must declare, at whatever cost to himself, in favour of equality of treatment in the primary essentials of living to all sufferers. That is going to be desperately—humanly speaking impossibly—hard for those who themselves have suffered cruelly from those very sufferers; it does not preclude justice, and it is an absolutely essential ingredient of my blue-print. Ernst Toller, in his "Letters from Prison" wrote: "Believe me, it is hard not to hate—only the realisation of the compulsion behind compulsion in men's lives gives the knowledge which makes one wise and understanding."

In this kind of situation, where a dominant military power will be controlling a vast continental area in its attempt to restore and keep order, there will be countless cross-currents of opinion flowing, different political groups manœuvring for position even to the point of precipitating further civil war—all behind the screen of immediate emergency relief measures and the practical tasks of sowing the seeds in the earth, breeding new livestock, restoring railways and bridges, and once again getting industrial machinery into action. In this vast process the regearing of all education has a crucial part. Who will the students be? They will consist of young men and women of about seventeen, eighteen or nineteen, who have just left school, and who will be proceeding to their higher education straight from school. But presumably this will be a small, and comparatively unimportant section of the whole the majority of whom will be discharged soldiers, sailors and airmen. Both categories will for the most part be poor: they will face a shortage of books, apparatus, housing, and probably food. In many parts of Europe they will face a shortage of teachers. Therefore the initial period of the re-starting of university life is bound to be a confused one, the greater the extent of war dislocation, the more the confusion.

A true community of students

There will be a tendency among student personnel towards political apathy, frivolous irresponsibility, and there will also be a tendency to bitter hatred and despair, especially among those who perceive most clearly the inadequacies of whatever political condition is brought into being at the close of hostilities in their particular part of the world. How to make real students of these elements; how to rekindle the flame of true scholarship; how to recreate moral values and spiritual principles—these are our problems. Not, I

fancy, by evangelistic crusades on the part of differing religions, or humanitarian bodies, but rather empirically from the bonds which necessity in the shape of famine and disease has forged between all sorts of men holding all sorts of rival opinions. The immediate need in university centres like Vienna or Prague, Warsaw or Belgrade, will be the setting-up of student committees of self-help to plan and control, in association with whatever foreign assistance may be available, the relief work among the local university students. Evidence from the experience of European Student Relief after the last war is at this point significant: "Nowhere was the relief entirely administered, as charity, by representatives of the International Committee. A great deal of the value of what was done arose from the fact that E.S.R. at once laid down the principle that in each country representatives of every group of students must assume responsibility for the actual administration of the funds. In this way, and without any political subtlety, E.S.R. brought together students who otherwise never met. Nationalists and Socialists, Jews and antisemites, majorities and minorities came together on its 'Committees for Self-Help', and in tackling the urgent material need confronting them they found that personal contact had destroyed those artificial barriers which were hindering European reconstruction."[1]

Different circumstances will need a modification of former methods of procedure, but I believe this first student grouping holds promise of proceeding in a more effective and lasting way than in the 1920's to reach a point of union between students everywhere. This conviction, however, needs one all-important proviso. My belief in the efficacy of this method only holds if the students themselves will be true to their role, that is to say, if they will sternly refuse to be distracted from their proper task of study. They will be sorely tempted to this distraction, for they will see their leaders making terrible mistakes, they will see the menace of reactionary powers at work in politics, and they will wonder whether yet once again, youth, having for the most part received all the kicks of war, is going to be robbed of the ha'pence of peace. They will actually be so betrayed if they yield to this temptation for immediate action outside the university sphere. For they will have betrayed themselves by failing to equip themselves with the only weapons which can finally aid them in their struggle for the right—namely, knowledge controlled by integrated feeling. For the right to earn this on the other hand they must be prepared to struggle relentlessly, and in these early days they should be able to assert that right. It will imply a strict discipline by which they will regard their studies not as a kind of cultural pastime *in vacuo,* but as a preparation for the carrying out of certain metaphysical convictions which they share

[1]The Story of International Student Service by James Parkes.

and which control their lives. The common faith and common longing which are the root of the matter can grow out of association on these committees of self-help, provided that students are not deflected from their true principles of being students. Indeed it will be possible, even likely, that from this association they will learn the new principle of living together in community which they may be able to carry forward into their adult life, but this again only if they have genuinely fulfilled themselves as students and exercised themselves sufficiently in the task of making moral decisions in the student sphere. Again these groupings during the first emergency period can and will knit a very close bond between them and their own student contemporaries, which it will be their duty and privilege to preserve.

I wonder whether the youth of today can see themselves as members of such committees: each with their different backgrounds and problems—men and women from the British universities, refugees returning from England to the Continent, boys and girls who have grown up on the Continent during the last years of the war, boys and girls who have been killing each other in the rival forces of the belligerents. Nothing less than this act of imagination and faith is being asked of them, nothing less will serve to restore student life to a worthy place in the community.

The Spiritual basis of scholarship

The job of students now and in the future is to help to create what may be called the horizontal community of scholars, horizontal because it lies at right-angles to the perpendicular of non-student social and political life; horizontal because it seeks to preserve itself on the level of honest study disciplined by a unifying faith derived from common convictions about the fundamental meaning of life. This horizontal community must command the student's utmost loyalty—a loyalty taking precedence over all others, including national loyalties. Loyalty to the student group of which they are members, whether in Cracow or Aberystwyth, can only survive and be a real thing if it is based on a confidence that their fellow-students share this belief in certain metaphysical verities, and are prepared to live and die for them beyond any other kind of allegiance. In this connection a remark of Max Plowman's in his book *The Right to Live* is highly pertinent: "The deep-seated cause of our modern spiritual neurosis is the fact that men have lost the sense of any blessed thing about which they can all agree; and the diversity of men is such that God alone can be that object."

Perhaps this gives the impression of a piece of "sublime mysticism and nonsense", an idealistic exaggeration. It is not so intended, and a blue-print which was unrealistically high-falutin' would be worse than useless. But before it is thus dismissed, the question must

seriously be faced how else students are to shape order for themselves out of the chaos which will be post-war Europe. I would say to them: "Proceed empirically, and as practically as you possibly can: think about food, calories, dietetic quantities, epidemic control of malaria and typhus, sanitation, lavatories, ovens, tents and fuel; learn fluently at least one other language than your own. Equip yourselves for service in the post-war field at home, and proceed to the very best of your abilities. Do all this, and then get started on the job, and I believe with absolute conviction that sooner or later you will be faced with despair, despair at other people's shortcomings, despair at your own experiences. That despair will be your sin, but, as Kirkegaard reminds us, the opposite of sin is not virtue but faith, the faith which brings you and other sinners to what is truly an existential choice; either you will despair to such good purpose that you will be saved by your sins, and find that unifying faith which is the cement of true metaphysical teaching, or you will despair in vain about your duties as students and your allegiance to the horizontal community, and you will be consumed in another war which it will have been your sin to precipitate.

"Either—or—it is as simple and final as that."

II

Statement by John Coleman

"Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." Psalm 127: 1.

The relation of the total post-war task of the Federation to its partnership with International Student Service and Pax Romana in World Student Relief is not simple. Every major decision in student relief immediately raises basic theological questions about the relation of the Christian to the world.

There are two factors which make our task on the spiritual level potentially creative. Through the magnificent statesmanship of leaders in all three organisations we have achieved thorough-going co-operation in the relief project with Roman Catholics. Further, there is now a general intellectual rejection of the possibility of spiritual neutrality which makes the minds of men more receptive to Christian truth than perhaps they have ever been in the history of the Federation. This manifests itself in many ways, in particular in the perception that student relief must be based on a faith at once more vigorous and more definite than mere humanitarianism.

Our peculiar task

That we must raise every cent we can for the physical relief of students; that we must put as many workers into the prisoner of war camps as can possibly be financed; that we must supply more and more books, more and more courses for men in the camps; that we must enlarge recreational and health facilities in China; that we should take thought now about the rebuilding of university plants destroyed by war—*all this I take for granted.* Could we say with the young man, "All these things have I done", yet we would hear Jesus say, "One thing thou lackest still". All these things are good, are necessary, are our duty; yet they do not constitute the peculiar task or the chief responsibility of the Federation. Without these things we shall make no progress towards our chief end. But these are not our chief end. You know what that is. It is to glorify God. It is to serve Him. It is, humbly, to play our part in God's work of creating a new heaven and a new earth. The reconstruction with which we in the Federation are concerned is not simply a matter of enabling tens of thousands of students to return to the same old studies in the same old way. Our job is to be co-workers together with God in bringing His Reign upon the earth.

That Reign comes not with observation, for it is like leaven which a woman put in a lump of dough and slowly, gradually, inevitably the whole lump was leavened. Man does not accept God's sovereignty overnight. His Reign does not come through some catastrophic revolutionary event. No, ". . . neither will they believe though one rose from the dead". The progress which the Federation is attempting to achieve is not the type that is effected by a small band of radicals who, having captured the ship of state, wave banners and shout slogans so energetically that the eyes of all men are fastened on them, admiring them as the saviours of the state, and so fail to notice that all, together in the same boat, are adrift on the torrential course of history. *Ex nihilo, nihil*—you don't get anything for nothing—neatly sums up the relevant part of my historical philosophy. Real progress in enriching the life of man, in achieving the social transformations necessary thereto and in effectively calling man to realise his true destiny as a son of God must be based on the profoundest truths about man's nature, and be rooted deeply in history.

The historic stream from which we may gain strength and wisdom is the Church. But the Church, as we know it, must be quickened, and must conform more perfectly to its true nature. For the Church to become the Church requires that it be one Church, that it speak in the tones and accents of today to the real problems which face men—that it exorcise from its life the corruptions of thought and practice which have engulfed it through its acceptance of the standards and theories of the world, that it call into its service the keenest minds and noblest spirits. The chief, indeed the only, glory of the Federation is that it has seen these tasks and helped the Church in some progress towards their achievement. The experience of the Federation in this regard will stand us in good stead in the present decisive hour. The peculiar responsibility of the Federation in post-war reconstruction is to use the new opportunities that will be given us through the joint enterprise of World Student Relief to continue this work.

That they all may be one

For many years now, the Federation has seen clearly its ecumenical responsibility. The greatest single division in the Church is between Roman Catholicism and the rest of Christendom. It is a gulf over which few bridges have been thrown. It was caused, and is maintained, as much by cultural, racial and sociological as by theological differences. The Roman Catholic historian Christopher Dawson makes this luminously clear in the chapter on the origin of Christian disunity in his recent book *The Judgement of Nations*. However, the disparity between Christianity on the one hand and

Bolshevism and Fascism on the other have forced us to recognise that our divisions, though profound, leave us greatly weakened in the face of dangerous spiritual forces abroad in the world today. Persecution of Christianity in Europe has forced Christians of all denominations to co-operate, often for the first time in centuries. There are accounts of many instances in which this co-operation has led to the recognition of real spiritual affinity between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Europe, and Orthodox and Protestants in the U.S.S.R. These contacts and experiences do not bespeak a reunited Christendom tomorrow. They are absolutely necessary *first* steps.

The attitude of the average Protestant to Roman Catholicism is pure presumption. He has no conception of the richness and variety of life to be found behind its outward semblance of unity and uniformity. He knows nothing of its internal struggles and divisions. He has no feeling for the reality of its worship. He cannot know the value of its sacraments for the inner life of a Roman Catholic and so understand a layman, such as one actively engaged in World Student Relief, who said to me, "I cannot conceive how it would be possible to live sanely without the strength which comes from Absolution and Communion." The attitude of Roman Catholics to Protestantism is an analogous amalgam of ignorance and prejudice.

World Student Relief presents us with an excellent opportunity to develop co-operation between Roman Catholic and Protestant students both in raising funds and in administering relief. In every country the S.C.M. should try to find some basis of joint action with Roman Catholic student organisations on behalf of Student Relief. Especially important will be the new friendships established between leaders of the Federation and leaders of Pax Romana. In all such contacts we must remember that it is not our task to change the Roman Catholic Church. That is a task for Roman Catholics. Possibly we have some slight knowledge and experience which can be helpfully communicated to them, though nearly all the insights we may have are doubtless contained in the variegated streams of thought of Roman Catholicism. Many times over in the coming years groups working in World Student Relief will have the experience, which I have already shared with members of the *Fédération Canadienne des Universitaires Catholiques,* of awakening to the fact that the real bond which holds us together in the relief work and enables us to communicate with and understand one another is the constraining power of Jesus Christ mediated to us down the ages by the Church.

There can be no doubt that the absence in the world today of a common positive dynamic faith is the greatest single barrier to the achievement of a sane international order through which men's basic physical needs can be supplied. Nor is there any question that the division between Roman Catholicism and the rest of Christendom is

the greatest obstacle to the effectual presentation of Christianity as the only sufficient faith for man. The Federation will not resolve this division in the next few years. It can initiate contacts and help establish those friendships without which such resolution will be impossible. The Federation has held many critical outposts in the past. It may well be that God now calls us to assist in establishing the first great milestone in Christian history since the Reformation.

The university and erudition

The fashioning and proclamation of the faith necessary to man today cannot and will not wait upon the reunion of Christendom. Indeed, in a real sense the reunion of Christendom waits upon the apprehension by leaders of the Church of a new faith.

We must achieve a new integration of the dynamic of Christianity with the data of modern knowledge—the new concepts of the physical and social sciences, the insights of Freud and modern psychology, etc. Much of the thought of Karl Marx must be recognised as in the direct line of the great prophets and incorporated into the intellectual framework of Christianity. This is no mean task, as Arnold Nash makes abundantly evident in his recent book *The University in the Modern World*. It will require a new attitude on the part of scholars to the relation of Christianity and scholarship. The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, which too often degenerates into a game in which the professor assiduously avoids stating his own convictions in order not to prejudice the student and force him to make up his mind about the truth, is not a process readily capable of being infused with Christian fire. Scholars who imagine that they can stand aside from the stream of life and be "objective", end up by casually absorbing the prejudices of the world.

We need integral men. Little narrow specialists, objective in a small field, but in reality detached from the whole of wisdom, cannot be the bearers of the necessary synthesis of faith and knowledge. A few of the older generation can see these things. They will help us. But they have already fought long and it is not they who can now push forward to the needed integration. It is among the present generation of students—especially the present generation in Europe that we may look for the minds ready to achieve this task. These are the men who have seen that no shallow liberalism, no mere faith in the goodness of man, no faith in the inevitability of progress, of the essential beneficence of science can possibly match the deep-felt needs of humanity. They have seen all the old illusions shattered. Nor will they turn docilely to the phrases of our Christian forefathers. They will look for new and deeper truths confiding in Jesus' promise "and if I go I will send the Comforter . . . and when the Spirit of Truth comes he will guide you into the full truth". Of course, no one

can hope to stand in these days who has not drunk deep from the well-springs of our Christian heritage, the Bible, the saints, the prophets, the Church. But we must now break through the crust of unreal phrases, of anachronisms, of old meaningless forms and respond to the real and lively Word of God.

It is for the reality of God that the impotent world cries in anguished tones. There is nothing more revolutionary or more dynamic than the reality of the word of God. How are we to hear that word? Not by means of spiritually neutral erudition. Karl Barth is a prophet whose burning apprehension of the word of God proclaims that God is not constrained by any pious institution or any pious phraseology. Yet even Barth's message, distilled through the massive objective erudition of North American theological seminaries turns from a radical pulsing flame into pale, vapid reaction.

The Federation can have no interest in erudition as such. It must call out of the present generation of students a band of men and women, Christian scholars, consecrated to the task of making the University glorify God. Naturally, I do not have a simple formula about how this will be done. We do not glorify God by means of a formula.

Arnold Nash has brilliantly exposed many of the factors and problems which we must consider. Certain points of attack on the University are obvious enough.

(a) The chief concern of a Christian professor must be in his students as persons, not how much material he can pack into his lectures. This requires personal contact between student and professor which is well-nigh impossible in many mass education universities today; so, the teaching methods of many large universities must be radically revised.

(b) Even now, however, teachers should gather round them promising students and attempt to achieve with them the integration of Christianity and study.

(c) An attempt must now be undertaken to establish as part of university *mores* the attitude that to be a student is a Christian vocation with all the responsibility and high challenge which such a view entails.

(d) Students are intellectual neophytes. By themselves they cannot understand the difficulties in which they are involved because of the lack of a Christian intellectual framework for university life and practice. These must be faced corporately by faculty and students. The need for a Christian Professors' Movement has become very urgent. Chapter IX of Visser 't Hooft's *None Other Gods* is the most lucid exposition of this need that I know of. The

Federation, alone, has the contact necessary to call such a Movement forth.

In this area of revamping the basis of university life and thought we have much to learn from Roman Catholicism. In the magnificent, if hierarchical and rather rigid, structure of Thomistic thought the Roman Catholic scholar has a source of guidance by which he may find his way through the confusion of thought of our time. Within this structure the task of the scholar is given meaning. He is not an isolated individual cut off from the rest of humanity by the narrow rut of his specialisation. He has a synoptic view of knowledge and is aware of his relation to the whole organism of scholarship.

It is to a Roman Catholic that the English-speaking world owes its latest classic discussion of the function of higher education in Newman's *The Idea of a University*. To mention this book is to point up vividly our plight. No book in English about the University commands greater lip-service. Nowhere is there a University which consciously attempts to follow the precepts which Newman there sets forth.

Lord I believe, help Thou mine unbelief

Even though the articulation of a faith adequate to the world's needs waits upon a great constructive act on the part of Christian intellectuals and even though its complete incorporation into the warp and woof of society waits upon the healing of the divisions in the Body of Christ, *we must act now*. With St. Paul we must resolve "Not that I have attained perfection already, . . . but I press onward toward the goal . . . for we must live up to what we have already attained."

Through the Church, and in particular through the Federation, God in His mercy has given to us such faith and such wisdom as we have already attained. This is our working capital. This is the greatest good we have to give the world.

The pages of The Student World have again and again told the story of the despair and disillusionment which engulfs the youth of Europe. There is a famine of bread which makes it intolerable to live. There is a famine of faith which makes it pointless. Surely men who have suffered as they have suffered, men who have stared into the abyss of life, men whose political dreams have been shattered by stern reality, surely these men will accept only a faith which is real, a faith forged out of man's true condition, a faith which understands man's nature at its worst and which speaks to him of a destiny so great as to give meaning and justification to the pain and agony they have endured.

The fact that the Federation will face many such men in the days ahead is a searching challenge. Dare we face them? Can we

adequately mediate to them the strength and power we have known in the Federation? Are our feet planted sufficiently firmly on bedrock reality? The faith which these men demand must speak to the economic and political conditions of the times. It must speak also to the dazed, despairing broken hearts of men.

If Federation men who work in connection with World Student Relief are to be of maximum service here it is important that they be not fettered by the debilitating reverence for neutrality. In our participation in World Student Relief, we must surrender all selfish hopes of proselytising and organisational aggrandisement. But we must not surrender the right to present our faith to those whose greatest need is faith. We must witness to the dependence of all life on God; to the liberating power of Christianity in freeing man from the confines of nationalism, racialism and all the demonic forces abroad in the world today; to the fact that only by continual commitment of themselves to the common good can students bring meaning and worth into their lives; to the fact that only in the fellowship of the Church and through prayer do we gain faith to live, and wisdom to live well.

Through such witness we may hope to bring new lives into the Church, lives made sensitive and real by suffering. The Church needs these hearts which, having known all fears, will never again be afraid; eyes which, having seen every pretence, never again can be deceived by spiritual sham; minds which, having touched brute fact, can never again have patience with sophistries. Blood such as this poured into the life-stream of the Church will make it new again, and give it the spiritual strength to seize the great opportunities which lie ahead. It is the task of the Federation to win these men and women in Europe, in China, everywhere.

Co-workers together with God

I have spoken of our task as though it were something we can do. *We* shall help the students of Europe. *We* shall proclaim *our* faith to Chinese students. *We* shall co-operate with Roman Catholics. *We* shall try to lay the foundations for a true university. It is a fool who has been speaking—an Anglo-Saxon. Neither the processes of history nor the profound depths of our *psyche* are amenable to such direct action. What we *can* do, if we become much more sensitive than we are now, if our faith becomes purer and stronger, is to lift a little finger to assist the powerful strokes of God's arm. We can work with perseverance and faith, praying that we are not an impediment, a bottle-neck, in God's way.

Is it not fairly clear already that the United Nations will be too arrogant in their disposal of the lives of other men and nations after the war? Or, if not arrogant, patronising, condescending? Whether

or not a sympathetic understanding of the spirit of Europe and China will be vouchsafed to the world's statesmen, the Federation cannot, in peril of its soul, fall into the sin of condescension. Speaking for France, Michel Furfande has warned us in the Third Quarter of THE STUDENT WORLD, 1943: "Whatever our mistakes we shall understand them sufficiently by ourselves without hearing them from someone else's lips. Those who have suffered so much have, alas! very little to learn from those who were able to resist."

No. It is only with humility that Anglo-Saxons may rightly take up the work of relief after the war. For we shall only know what we are doing if we realise that we are succouring the body of Christ broken in the world for us. It is only with humility that we may venture to participate in God's bearing of the suffering of the world, to participate in His work of building again amidst the devastation, knowing that "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it".

Call for the Observance of the Universal Day of Prayer for Students

Sunday, 20th February, 1944

"GREET IT AS PURE JOY, MY BROTHERS, WHEN YOU COME ACROSS ANY SORT OF TRIAL, SURE THAT THE STERLING TEMPER OF YOUR FAITH PRODUCES ENDURANCE; ONLY, LET YOUR ENDURANCE BE A FINISHED PRODUCT, SO THAT YOU MAY BE FINISHED AND COMPLETE, WITH NEVER A DEFECT." (James 1: 2-4.)

We are going through a serious trial, world-wide in scale and unprecedented in history. Some people believe this trial to be epochal in the sense that through it the old civilisation is dying and a new one emerging. The present catastrophe is the climax of a series of trials that started a dozen years ago, with their roots of course reaching further back. The fact that we were unaware of the signs of the times, that in our pride and individualism we were unable to prevent the present suffering or were confident we could muddle through should make us seek God's forgiveness. On this Universal Day of Prayer may we fill ourselves deep with penitence and renew our sense of dependence on God, our common Father.

In the above Scripture, James was talking about the vicissitudes through which the first-century Christians were passing. He was of the opinion that life's trials perfect character, if they are met in dependence upon God. Instead of being depressed and disillusioned, he urged that the early Christians greet it as pure joy when they came across any sort of trial. If faith were tested, it would produce the endurance needed to carry them through the trial. However, their endurance must be such a finished product that they would come out with no defect.

Let us look at the situation today. The trial we are facing seems hard to bear. The world is now divided and broken. Masses of youth are giving their precious blood and many have lost their lives. Productive power is being diverted to destruction. Large sections of the people are suffering from privation and under-nourishment. The economic crisis in the rear is keeping pace with the bloodshed in the various battle-fronts. In certain parts of the world, the physical

and mental enslavement has become intolerable. People are breaking under the strain. Let us get over with it, but how?

Human beings are frightfully short-sighted. They can only see things around them and hence they are incurably humanistic. This shows that there is a real need for God. The present catastrophe is a result of the doings of men and we are reaping what we have sown. God's judgment is clear and His truth like a two-edged sword. He is not the cause of the present suffering but in Him is the answer. Let us greet it as pure joy that some good has already come out of this crisis and more may result if we heed Him.

But let us not deceive ourselves by thinking that when the crisis is over, everything will be all right. A utopian hope is evident in certain circles especially among students. The catastrophe will not be the end of all false and vicious things. It will not cure us of all our evil. Satan is a clever creature. He may be crushed out from one corner, yet he will reappear from another quite unexpectedly. Let us stick close to realities and think things straight and think them through. How far has the present struggle touched the fundamental trouble of the world? Have we suffered sufficiently to realise the inertia and the insensitiveness that has brought about the present crisis? Are we ready to join hands with each other in order to build a world community on the basis of a common loyalty to God which we Christians believe is the only true basis for universal peace and justice?

This is "one world". Has this present conflict taught us this fact in sufficient force? This last dozen of years has shown very clearly that peace is indivisible. The world is one. But to realise this physical fact is one thing and really to train ourselves to think in global terms is quite another. For a long time, the world has been centred in the "west". China and India are regarded as far away and thus they have been called the "Far East". The present crisis has shown that China and India are no farther away than Czechoslovakia and Poland, and that China's and India's problems are essentially world problems. So on this Universal Day of Prayer, let us not just remind ourselves of the solidarity of students but of the solidarity of the world as a whole.

We are of one brotherhood. The present conflict has shown that "nation", "race", and "blood" are not stronger ties than a common loyalty to God. Are we not all believers in truth and justice? But where are truth and justice if they are not grounded in the Eternal? On this Universal Day of Prayer, let us be thankful for the growth of the ecumenical movement which has brought out that sterling temper of faith among the churches. It may yet be true that the Christians shall hold the world together. Our physical separation has not prevented our close fellowship with God. The Universal

Day of Prayer is a clear demonstration of the one brotherhood in Christ. It is true that we are pitched in opposite camps and many of us have slipped into the "zone of silence", but we have an implicit confidence in each other and this, thank God, is a healing force in this bleeding world.

We may be down but we shall not be broken. God is not just a spectator of this tragic drama today. He is as active as ever. If we maintain our unswerving faith, we will have the endurance to stride through this present crisis. We should not let our emotions control or our weak moments overcome us. Our endurance should be a "finished product" so that we can come out clean in this crisis. "The road is long and the burden is heavy" as the Chinese people used to say. We are all carrying a heavy burden on a long road. Let us take our responsibility seriously and with hard thinking, hard work and frequent prayers, we shall gradually see the light leading on this long road.

—The Officers of the
World's Student Christian Federation.

A LETTER FROM THE DESERT

(The Editor has crossed the international border and visited the United States eight times in four months. Customs, currency and immigration officials look so bored as he comes along, that he has been discouraged from writing a travel diary! This letter is taken from the New Zealand *Student*, with apologies and gratitude to the writer, because it is the best bit of reporting we have seen in any S.C.M. magazine. R.C.M.)

I've found my two years in the Army a wonderful experience which I can never regret. Since being in the Middle East, I've made use of numerous opportunities to learn something of the history and religions of those most interesting countries. I have spent a memorable leave exploring the famous spots of Palestine from Capernaum on Lake Tiberias to the village that is Gaza. I have been entertained by Jews, discussed their religion and visited their schools and synagogues. I have made quite a study of Islam and had long yarns with educated Moslems who have shown me the most famous of Cairo's 160 mosques. I have examined the stupendous remains of ancient civilisations which simply teem throughout these lands—Memphis, Sakkara, Alexandria, and Baalbek, Palmyra, Tyre and Sidon of Syria. I have attended a Mass of the Armenian Orthodox Church in a tiny village on the Turkish border, and have just lately been visiting and learning something of the Coptic Churches of Egypt, one of the most remarkable forms of the Christian faith. I have, too, seen a deal of the Christian missionary work done among the Moslems.

Refreshment and Human Nature

I guess you would rather hear something of my own experiences since joining the Army and saying good-bye to Virgil, Turetino, Corneille, Hugo and the like. I must admit that my brain has very largely gone to seed, although I did have a chance

to exercise my "book French" in Syria. Study in any concentrated form at all is quite impossible while in a line battalion for numerous reasons, especially when one is continually on the move and the cartage of any books quite out of the question. It is only when a fellow gets a period in Base that the opportunity arises of getting to some good books or refreshing addresses, debates and the like. I must say that we are fortunate in having nowadays some excellent libraries on which to draw, as well as one or two Cairo clubs which offer the peace, quiet and refreshment that I miss more than most things in this Army. One such spot which is my favourite rendezvous these days is the "Music for All"; personally I know few things more refreshing after days of Army toil than God's gift of music.

But to get back to our everyday life. I think I am just beginning to know a little of that complex thing we call human nature. At 'Varsity one inevitably made friends of somewhat similar ideas, education and, yes, social standing, and even then really knew *very few of that restricted number. In the Army I've found you can't choose your friends; you are thrown together in a section or platoon, men from every walk of life and social upbringing, and must seek what fellowship you can within these limits. To go outside one's company even, is largely beyond the bounds of practicability. Now, as you can guess, very little can be hid amongst fellows who are living so intimately as does a platoon. You are known for what you are, how you react under all circumstances, what you say, and, yes, how much you swear! This is the reason, I think, for that quality of fellowship which George Naylor mentioned in his letter as having been found by a first echelon friend. You* know *your friends inside out after a month or so—and come to share your life in the manner found so real by the Oxford Group. Thus, when it comes to an action, you are a team in the deeper sense of the word.*

A Tangible Fellowship

These friends come to mean quite a lot, especially during such times as those trying days spent squatting on the Alamein Line—heat, dust, flies, more flies, little water, incessant night

picquets and patrols, bombs, shells and no let up. That was when our fellowship was something tangible, and any losses (and they were numerous) came to be felt 'way down inside, though no one would say much. We came to build a hard shell as protection against so many disappointments, upsets or even minor annoyances—many would lose heart otherwise. I know I would have done just that long ere now if it had not been for the knowledge of God's power and love forever upholding me and providing an ever-present "retreat" from the storm. Fear of death was completely absent; that was something Christianity had to pass on and which meant "morale" to quite a few with whom I've yarned. I found answer to prayer very real, too, and know, as never before the power of those petitions offered by loved ones at home.

Of course, God was a reality to only a small minority. I don't honestly think that attendances at Church services have increased since I've been over here. Yet that fellowship remained, it was something deep and real. To be true, we moaned, we cursed those who were set in authority, we swore, we wished many a fervent wish; yet, underneath, all were convinced that what they were doing was right and worthy of any sacrifice, as occasion arose.

Plans for Post-War World

One thing that is becoming increasingly apparent is the ordinary soldier's immense interest in plans for a post-war world. I've heard debates and addresses from plain "Kiwis" which stress none too weakly the part the Church must play in social reconstruction. In this respect, I have been exceedingly interested in New Zealand's Christian Order Campaign and was delighted to see familiar S.C.M. names as authors of pamphlets tackling the various aspects of the problem. (I hope to receive copies some time, but none as yet to hand.) It's unfortunate that any publicity given the Campaign so far in our "N.Z.E.F. Times" has been somehow adverse.

There is one thing I've found almost universal—love of home, i.e., New Zealand. Few had come to appreciate the country they lived in until they tasted something of conditions overseas. They

are proud that we should lead the world in experiments in social security—how often I heard such opinions expressed at the time the Beveridge Report was published. These men are returning with big ideas, let me assure you. I once considered the R.S.A. a collection of dodderers. I believe this time that they will have some very revolutionary but ultimately constructive things to say about post-war New Zealand, and we Christians are going to be in the forefront vying with the "Russian admirers" for a hearing!

Vin Rice.

THE STUDENT WORLD CHRONICLE

Christian Youth Movements and Political Action

A French S.C.M. Statement

In this article we make our contribution to the study undertaken in recent months by the leaders of the five large Youth Movements (*Action Catholique de la Jeunesse Française, Camarades de la Route, Compagnons de France, Conseil Protestant de la Jeunesse, Scoutisme Français*). Without prejudicing agreements which might prove more verbal than fundamental, we rejoice in the common convictions resulting from this study. There actually exists in our movements a clear desire to reconstruct a France which will be strong while remaining itself, and to do this by embodying certain human values, by defending the supremacy of spiritual values and returning to the sources of so-called *Christian civilisation.*

What we say will clearly be different from what our friends of the other movements would say, and that is just as well. The France we desire will not be made up of people with standardised bodies and uniform spirits, but will be rich in the diversity of *all* its spiritual families; it will be the symphony of their different vocations in mutual respect, the object of their affection, the place of their service and the reason for their sacrifice. Thus it will truly be France, strong and free.

1. The Risen Christ, on His enthronement at the right hand of God, received all power on earth as in heaven. (Matt. 28: 19.) "The extent of His Kingdom is therefore not limited to heaven and the invisible world. *Christ rules also on earth and not only over the Church, but equally over the state.*" The state is incorporated into the kingdom of Christ: its authority is subject to Christ; it is a delegated authority.

The foundation stone of political education is the Ascension of our Lord. In answer to the obedience and sacrifice of His Son, God the Father "hath highly exalted Him" (Phil. 1: 9) and given Him supreme authority over *all* creation. From thenceforth Jesus Christ *is* King and His enemies in bonds can only contribute to His ultimate triumph. There is no sphere in heaven or on earth which is not included in the Kingdom of Christ. No creature is independent; all are subject to Him.

When the Risen Christ tells His disciples gathered together on the Mount of Ascension that *all power* has been given to Him, that signifies that He has been given the omnipotence of God over all creation, that He exercises it in place of the Father, but it also signifies that all authority has been granted to Him, that all those who carry out an order of any kind do so in reality—in spite of themselves —by virtue of an order, of a particular act of the Lord's Will. Henceforth there is no such thing as an autonomous power on earth. There is only the delegated authority of the Risen Lord.

This is particularly true of the authority and power of the state which is itself also incorporated into the kingdom of Christ. In spite of its wishes it has been made subject to the victorious Christ; it is enrolled in His triumphant train; it serves Him, and has no other *raison d'être* than this service, which, in view of this order and law, it is charged to maintain in order that the word of God may be preached and heard.

2. To believe in the Risen Lord is to be, therefore, a member of the Church, to confess His name before men; and it is also to honour the authorities and to obey them for the sake of the Lord (I Peter 2: 13). *One cannot serve Christ in the Church without also serving Him in the state;* to separate these two would be to create a division within the kingdom of Christ. Obedience to the faith then is necessarily expressed in political forms.

In a certain respect there are two parts to the kingdom of Christ: the Church, where His authority is accepted, confessed and glorified and the world in which that authority is misunderstood, opposed and blasphemed. That authority is none the less real and effective, with the clear understanding that it is the confession of faith in Jesus Christ *alone* and not any moral superiority, or lesser degree of sinfulness, which distinguishes the Church from the world.

To serve the Risen Lord is to take His power seriously wherever it is exercised and not to scorn any intermediaries He has chosen to govern the world. To be a member of the Church therefore implies a definite and continuing political involvement. Otherwise faith becomes merely a kind of pietism which denies the *total* sovereignty of Christ or a spiritual amateurishness which fails to recognise the affirmations of the Creed.

There cannot, in any case, be a question of separating Church membership from service to the state since the authority of Christ covers both the Church and the world at the same time. His followers must not make a division within His kingdom or deny part of His power. Political action is therefore a necessary form of faith, provided that it does not imply obligatory membership of a political party, nor specific action nationally, but simply acceptance of responsibility within the body politic, wherever that is possible.

And many things would change, without doubt, if Christians would begin to take seriously their local problems, which is the elementary form of political action.

3. *Service to the state has its limits set by the faith which authorises it,* for the obedience of the Christian cannot be blind; it calls for the clarity and vigilance of faith, since the state, even if it is under submission to the Kingdom of Christ, is also constantly in danger of trying to free itself, of deifying itself or of failing to use all the authority entrusted to it. Whatever may come, resistance which may be at times the true Christian faithfulness, cannot consist in leaving the state to its own devices; it cannot be just a matter of discussion or political desertion, but rather—like obedience—a form of political action for the Christian, who in any event knows his own solidarity with the state of which he is a citizen.

The powers in submission to a triumphant Christ are always capable of revolt against Him, seeking release from their bondage, pulling on their chains. And one often sees in the world men, who are entrusted with maintaining an order which is based on law, doing the very opposite and sabotaging Christ's work at their own pleasure. (One only has to look around today to see that this is true.) But even this is in vain! These powers are like watch-dogs, which at the slightest noise hurl themselves at strangers as if to devour them, but which, just at the moment when they are about to reach their prey are stopped short by their chains. In the same way the powers try to free themselves from the Kingdom of Christ—but are powerless to do so. The bonds which hold them to the Lord can lengthen but cannot break.

Obedience to the faith involves constantly reminding the state that its authority is based upon its dependence on Christ; it also means striving to keep the state in its place as the servant of Christ so that it does not abuse its authority, but also that it does not fail in its duties for the common good.

But whatever form it may take, Christian witness can never be anarchical; it can never be a revolutionary action against the state, because it is incapable of desiring the destruction of the state. On the contrary, it desires the continuance of the state and the fulfilment of its role as the servant of Christ. In this way Christian resistance is made *for* the state, never against it.

Thus every Christian attitude normally takes its place in the framework of prayer for the state and its ministers, prayer of intercession, which is the primary form and the basis of all political action.

4. The Youth Movements are not an end in themselves—*their goal is to train men and women as "members of the Church, responsible for the national welfare".* The Christian education which they

give thus implies a political training, that is to say, one "which is related to public affairs".

The movements of the Protestant Youth Council, and those which we consider like ourselves, have often been characterised as educational movements, in contrast with the so-called political movements. We have put education like a little god on a pedestal; or at all events as an end in itself, as the sole justification of the existence of our movements. But it must not be forgotten that education has no meaning except as it produces men who are educated, and who not only are capable of educating others (such as professors in normal schools who teach others to teach . . . *in saecula saeculorum*), but who take part in a free and responsible manner in a vigorous service of the communities in which they live. The *raison d'être* of our movements is not the perfection and diversity of their methods but the few Christians they have made who are now, within or without organised movements, serving Christ in state or nation. If such is the aim of our education, it is apparent that evangelisation implies,—along with physical development, character training and general culture,—political training.

5. *We must avoid making any separation between political and Christian training in the action of the movements;* these should be closely related, and political training especially should have a solid theological basis. The relationship between the political and the spiritual must be constantly shown. This relationship is one of dependence; the spiritual dominates the political. It is an essential relationship; the political accompanies the spiritual and shows its authentic character: Precisely because Christ is King in Heaven and on earth we cannot make any distinction between the sacred and the profane. Before God all is profane, all is sinful—and certainly our *religious* life; but at the same time, by means of His grace, all is sacred, all is forgiven, all is sanctified, even our political life.

That is why, in the programme of our movements, political training should only be one form of evangelisation. It would be equally false to evangelise without preparing for political life and to provide for political training without a theological basis.

It is certain that the spiritual dominates the political, since Christ is the head of the state, but it becomes increasingly clear today that the political reacts quickly to the spiritual. One who appears to have a well-founded faith and an impeccable theology betrays by an indefensible political action that he is actually passing by the truth of Christ; while another who shocks us by his liberalism, and his follies, shows by the rightness of his political position that he is grounded in Christ and that his faith, if it needs still to be enlightened, is none the less truly authentic. For we are living in times when faith needs

to be expressed in clear political decisions; otherwise the reign of Christ runs the grave risk of being misunderstood or scorned.

This is not the place to object to the relative nature of political action. Certainly the area of politics is equivocal, confused and troubled; those who take risks in it always compromise themselves and do not come out with clean hands, but abstention or renunciation is worse than the inevitable compromises in this realm, for we have been given the *absolute command of God to act in the relative sphere;* and it is the absolute nature of this order which makes out of a relative act a spiritual achievement accomplished in obedience to the faith.

6. The Scriptures do not contain social and political instruction which can be separated out and made into a treatise on biblical politics for use in all political training. Whenever social, economic or political questions are touched upon in the Bible, it is because the prophetic word of God expresses here and there a judgment on one of these questions. *To take a political position biblically means to listen to the word of God which is spoken here and now* on the questions of our time. It is not a question of making a biblical digest, of finding some static principles of a political theology, but rather of listening constantly in Bible study to the dynamic word which God speaks each day to the state and all its problems.

There is no such thing as a body of biblical politics which can be taken out of the concrete and living framework of the Bible and systematised into a political code; nor indeed are there any universally acceptable principles to be invoked no matter what may be the political circumstances.

The word of God, because it is eternal, is always immediate; it cannot be concentrated within a few great abstract, timeless principles. This does not mean that the Bible is simply disconnected and meaningless in this regard. In "God's political thought" there is a well determined inner logic, but it is always expressed in very precise judgments (negative or positive; prohibitions or orders), which become concrete in the particular situation, each with their own characteristics. To want to know the thought of God apart from the actual situation would be to want to know God apart from His revelation, which is always His presence in clearly defined circumstances. To give a political training implies first of all hearing the judgment of the word of God upon our time.

7. This kind of Bible Study, if it is to avoid being sterile, should be woven into the web of immediate reality; it should always be accompanied, and filled out, by as complete information as possible on the social, economic, and political questions of the day.

The drama of this undertaking is that it is always led either by theologians without technical education, or by technicians without

any theological basis, and that neither the one nor the other can avoid giving by their partial incompetence, a false impression of the data and the solution of the problem. In order to make the training given in this respect by our movement really serious, it must take place within the Church, with the technicians and the theologians working closely together. (And this brings up the question in full force of the use of the laity, which individualism and pastoral authoritarianism have deprived of all usefulness in the Church.)

8. Political training as previously described may have three aspects: patriotic and national—an acquaintance with all that is essentially French; civic—concerned with duties, rights, and responsibilities; political—concerned with ideology, administration and law, domestic and foreign policy.

This does not mean turning the movements into a school of political science in miniature, nor making a pretence of preparing for the political professions; *it is a question of training for the kind of civic responsibilities which the members will be able to undertake,* especially locally or regionally.

Invariably political training implies a certain political stand and taking a position personally in the light of the Bible on all the major questions of national life. Whether one has the power of voting or not, this is a spiritual responsibility which cannot be escaped. Further the exercising of a function in the community, however small, presupposes familiarity with the structure of the state and the problems in which it is involved.

9. For students of every age *political training should be closely related to the general educational policy of the movement.* Corresponding to the kind of life created by the movement there is consciously or unconsciously a definite political conception. It is essential for the effectiveness of the educational programme that there be no break in the continuity and that the goal which is striven for in the political training should be the same as that to which the techniques and methods of the movement as a whole tend.

To create a certain kind of life is to prepare for action in the community, and some may be frightened as they come to see what the educational principles now at work within their movements, or fellowships, may incur on the political level. It is important that this be clearly seen and that political training be woven normally into the web of an educational system which implies it and prepares for it. Short of this we will become irresponsible and run the risk one of these days of a cruel awakening in face of the action, or the incapacity, of our old members let loose in the community.

10. Political training ought to be normally provided in the different scholastic or professional settings in which young people live.

Because of the almost complete lack of this in the school, and in professional training, the movements carry the entire responsibility today. The training which they can give will therefore be limited and fragmentary.

It should be noted that this would always continue to be the necessary task of the movements even if others were to take charge for the reasons stated in the first to fourth propositions described above: *education by the movements would be incomplete without political training.*

11. The training given by the movements necessarily includes both information and experience in making judgments on social, economic and political problems in the constant light of the Scriptures.

Political action, to which this training is the necessary introduction is born of the synthesis of information and of political judgment. It is not valid unless it is the responsible undertaking of a trained person; it *can only be the result of a well-rounded education in all areas.* Political action will be the business of those who are mature rather than of youth. If it has not been preceded by serious training it becomes merely a form of agitation harmful equally to the individual and to the community.

We have struggled successfully so far against all those who seek to drag the youth of France into premature political action, but have we met their basic criticism? Have we departed from our perfect methods and our studies intellectually so correct? Are we preparing today the members of our movements for action which, when the time comes, will be the reconstruction of our country, and which during the present times should be expressed in a very concrete political involvement?

In spite of the exaggerations of a few excitable people we are paying attention to this serious question which confronts us. For we are ashamed that we have not understood before this that the word of God has given us a clear lead, which we should be putting into practice.

February, 1943. GEORGES CASALIS.

Two Reports from Indian Students

I

Madras—Vellore area, S.C.M. Study Conference, June, 1943

The other day, just about a week before the commencement of the Study Conference, I happened to visit one of the officers of the Movement. When my business with him was over, he asked me whether I was attending the Study Conference. I said "Yes". He told me that this year the Summer School of Economics and Politics, run by the Madras Youth Council, was to go on simultaneously with the Study Conference at Tambaram and that there were to be some meetings in common for both Conferences. The work of the Summer School comprised learning cottage industries, visiting villages and learning village problems. I thought for a moment and remarked that I would prefer to be in the Summer School, rather than in the Study Conference. He promptly replied, "No, John, *religion first.*" Yes, it is very true. . . . The Study Conference has enabled me to realise the value of his words.

The Study Conference started on the 16th evening. That night we had an address by the Rev. Gilbert Hort on "Dare we Study?" He stressed the need for honesty and asked us to be honest first to ourselves. Every day, in the morning we had corporate worship. Worship early in the morning with all its peace and tranquillity inspired every one of us. Our morning worship was related to the study we were doing and also to the addresses we had at night. It was a marvellous experience for all of us. After private study for two hours, we had a meeting of the study group for one and a half hours. In the afternoon also we had two hours' private study. Between four and six p.m. we were practically free. This free time was utilised by many of us for attending the evening lectures on several subjects relating to village problems at the Summer School, and at times for village visiting with the delegates of the Summer School. We had another Study Group at 6.30 p.m. In the evening immediately after dinner, we had an address which made it possible for us to see more clearly what our faith was. When the addresses were over, true to the tradition of the S.C.M. we had a jolly good sing-song and went to bed in a hilarious mood.

The subject I chose for study at the Conference was "What is the Bible?" I had been conceited enough to think that I knew all about the Bible and that I need not bother to know anything more really. But I was soon disillusioned. Actually when the study began I became aware of the awful fact that I was absolutely ignorant. To add to my already perturbed state of mind, I heard an address one

evening by Dr. M. S. Adiseshiah on the subject: "The Bible—an Enigma". Yes . . . the Bible is an enigma to those who do not discern in it the word of God. The Bible, in the sense of the written word only, is not the word of God. It becomes clear only to those who listen in faith. What is more, mere listening will not do. It is of no consequence. Listening must be followed by implicit obedience.

On the whole, I feel that the Study Conference is of more value than even the annual Provincial Camp. The more I studied the Bible at the Conference, the more it filled me with a sense of frustration and despair and that helped me. Only then I came to know that to be absolutely honest, pure and unselfish was something that was by no means easy for me. This Conference marks an epoch in my career. And I am sure several others at the Conference would have had even better experiences than I have had.

An opportunity to attend a Study Conference is one that a Christian student cannot afford to miss. We all know too well that study is vital to our career. But it should be remembered that a study of Christian standards is indispensable to a Christian student. It is high time that we, the younger generation in India, realised the importance of the S.C.M. If we should turn out to be the real props of the India of tomorrow, let us remember always—*"Religion first"*.

John Ramakrishnan,
Madras Christian College, Tambaram.

II

Madras Youth Summer Council School on Economics and Politics, June, 1943

The year 1942 and the beginning of 1943, were most disturbing to the student population of India. They underwent a singular experience at the time of the arrests of their political leaders and during the fast of Mahatma Gandhi. The students of India stood aloof in their distress. Their young hearts were throbbing to do something for their Motherland. Being young they were excited and were under nervous tension for some time. Many resorted to strikes in which they were completely foiled, and some students even courted imprisonment. All these did not bring them anywhere nearer to their goal. They were left baffled and dismayed, but the thirst to do something for their Bharatmata remained as firm as ever. The Madras Youth Council's suggestion to hold a Summer School at Tambaram for a fortnight was joyfully accepted and it acted like a soothing balm to the torn soul of Young India.

The number of delegates was restricted to twenty-five and they were an odd mixture of students, teachers, advocates and lecturers.

The cottage industries taught at the Summer School, were spinning, paper making, and hand-pounding of rice. It cannot be said that all who attended the School for such a short time acquired skill in his or her own industry, but each one of us knew the ABC of the cottage industry we chose for study.

The programme of the Summer School was crowded. We had manual work every morning for an hour and a half, which consisted of road making or gardening, and digging. We were at the cottage industry we had chosen to learn for five hours a day. We had one address every evening for an hour, village visiting for two hours, a discussion at night for one and a half hours, and we ended the day's programme with a sing-song in co-operation with the S.C.M. Study Conference. Getting up early in the morning after strenuous work done the previous day did not make us less happy and active for as soon as we left our beds we were ready for any kind of manual work. For the first five days the women delegates took to digging the garden. We added manure after digging; levelled it; and seeds of some greens were sown. We were able to see only tiny sprouts when we came away. The men delegates started road making in a Rural Centre, but were progressing very slowly. As the women had finished gardening, they offered to help the men in road making. Both the men and women shared the work and joyfully built the road that in future would lead to the freedom of India. Many such roads must be built, all focussing to the same point, that of attaining freedom. This hard work gave us joy. Joy, because we felt one with the millions of India, toiling and moiling day to day. It also taught us a most valuable lesson, the lesson of co-operation. Unless all workers of freedom co-operate there will be no freedom. Unity of purpose and unity in fulfilling that purpose is the first and foremost thing we have to learn and thanks to road making, we, the few delegates, learnt it! The road was formally opened by the Rev. R. R. Keithahn, who gave a very inspiring, short address at the opening ceremony.

There were only four to learn spinning. The spinners did not know that there are twenty-six poses to be learnt in the use of a simple Sabarmati Takli. If one can master the Sabarmati Takli one can handle any other form of takli easily. The yarn coming from the sliver as we twirled the takli gave us delight, and it was indeed a great satisfaction to feel that we could if we would produce our own clothes needed for a year if we worked at the takli for two hours per day. The paper-making class evidently enjoyed their work. Their faces glowed with happiness when they raised sheets and sheets of white paper. To create something tangible is a pleasure. The paper taking a concrete form before our very eyes from the pulp was something novel to us, and only those who worked at it can understand the boundless joy derived from it.

The evening addresses by various workers in different fields connected with village work were very interesting and instructive. They gave us a good account of their experiences, how to avoid mistakes and such other advice, which was very valuable, and very helpful to us, who were amateur workers in social service. One or two of these speakers disheartened us, but to make up for it people like Mr. Keithahn, and Mr. Santanam encouraged us tremendously and we were thrilled with what they said. From these talks we were able to realise that there are a great many things to be done, and that only very little was actually being done. We were all agreed on one point. That there should not be large scale industry. There should be labour-absorbing industry, and not labour-saving industry, and cottage industry should go hand in hand with machinery.

After the evening addresses we went village visiting in two groups. In the villages we came across abject poverty. It was a heart-rending sight to see grown up men and women and even little children starving. Many were in rags and some were without any clothes. We students felt quite lost. We knew that we could not solve this problem ourselves, but we can help to a certain extent. What is the point in asking them to be clean when they had no change of clothes? They asked us such practical questions and we were not able to say anything very sensible to them. India's cleanliness and politics are in the stomach. Wherever we went we heard people saying, "We are hungry. We have no clothes." Our contact with the villagers even though for a short time taught us many a lesson which we shall not forget, especially that of humility. We had no right to think highly of ourselves, we who let this happen to those poor starving people not lifting our little finger to help—we, the so-called educated!

The evening discussions were informal and every one had a chance to air his or her views. Doubts were cleared, and ideas were shared and suggestions were considered. Sometimes we felt a little bored, but on the whole the discussions were enjoyable. The sing-song made us forget everything about our hard work, and gave us real enjoyment.

Thus we spent fourteen happy days at Tambaram. The breaking up of this small group was sad. Some delegates gave valuable suggestions as to the running of the Summer School next year. All of us were agreed that it should be run next Summer. We learnt humility and gratitude, the great lessons that life has to teach us. It is with deep gratitude to the organisers of the Summer School that we left the Rural Centre for which every one of us has a soft corner of our hearts set apart.

(Miss) Seshu Srirangam,
Presidency College, Madras.

BOOK REVIEWS

MENSCHENWEGE UND GOTTESWEGE IM STUDENTENLEBEN. Professor P. Gruner, Beg. Verlag, Bern.

Professor P. Gruner has published under this title an able book of 450 pages on the history of the Student Christian Associations of Switzerland. It is a unique and valuable mine of information comprising almost half a century of Swiss student life, and its interest extends far beyond the framework of our local groups. M. Gruner gives much space to the personal reminiscences of successive generations of members of the Associations. Perhaps the wealth of quotations weights the book somewhat heavily, but at least they help us to catch the actual flow of the currents and counter-currents which have appeared in the course of this history.

The author has sought in these pages to trace the Grace of God working through, and in spite of, human institutions in all their weakness. He does not conceal the failings of the movement, its contradictions, its fluctuations. He makes severe judgments on what he calls the "liberal era" of the S.C.M., and sees in the present day affirmation of a strongly positive faith, and in the new orientation which has resulted in the formation of "University Bible Groups" a return to its origins. Perhaps, with all due respect for the past, we might feel some hesitation in agreeing with this judgment. May not a pure and simple return to the piety of early days, mean also a disregard for the great realities of the present hour, that is to say for what God is saying to us today through the witness of his confessing Church? Our most living Movements are those which make their own the faith and the struggles of their age. And surely it must be in so far as they enter into this great current of the Church at war that our Swiss Associations will find a lasting and a fruitful renewal of life.

S. DE D.

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE NATIONS. By Christopher Dawson. *1943, Sheed and Ward.* London and New York (Two editions).

Readers of these pages are familiar with the Christian analysis of the plight of modern civilisation which we owe to Berdyaev, Niebuhr, Maritain and Tillich. *The Judgement of the Nations* brings

that analysis to the most vivid, lucid and succinct expression that I have read. Its discussion of the religious origins of European disunity, of the failure of Liberalism, of the failure of the League of Nations, of the secularisation of western culture could and should be read and understood by every leader in the Federation.

Moreover, Dawson is not content to play merely the role of a prophet of gloom. Half of his book is devoted to an exposition of the relevance of Christian social principles to the resolution of the dilemma of modern man, to the problem of maintaining freedom in a planned society, to the creation of Christian unity, to the development of a sound basis for social order.

"Before European civilisation was secularised, Christendom was already divided . . . the problem of the reunion of Christendom has a much closer relation to the cause of world peace than is generally recognised" (p. 24 of the English edition). "Behind the present crisis in the life of Europe there lie centuries of religious disunity and strife which have divided men's minds in the spiritual order itself and which have destroyed the bond of charity which alone can transcend the conflict of material interests and the corporate selfishness of classes and peoples" (p. 111). But what are the root causes of church disunity? Intellectual errors? With true historical insight, Dawson observes that, as a rule, heresy is not the cause of schism but an excuse for it, and that behind every heresy lies some kind of social conflict by the resolution of which alone can unity be restored. Dawson sees the hope for Christian unity not in religious controversy or political action but in the exercise of the virtues of faith, hope and charity. For many years religion in Europe has been involved in issues of nationalism. With the growth of modern secularism, however, this confusion has largely been dispelled; so that the present age is more favourable to the cause of Christian reunion than any time since the Middle Ages.

These ideas are generally accepted in Federation and ecumenical circles. That they should be voiced by so distinguished a Roman Catholic is, indeed, encouraging.

In his chapter on the origins of European disunity, Dawson first notes the great gulf which has always existed between Orthodox Russia and the rest of Europe. "Behind the closed world of the Soviet Republics with its absolute identification with Communist ideology and its absolute submission to the Communist dictator, there lies the closed world of Orthodox Russia with its absolute identification with the Orthodox Czar." In Russia was formed the earliest and most complete form of the new totalitarian absolutism. In Western Europe however both the religious and cultural developments were infinitely more variegated. Dawson restricts himself to

a discussion of the differences betwen Lutheranism and Calvinism for in these he sees the seeds of the spiritual conflict which divides Europe today.

On page 26, Dawson states that "while Lutheranism from the beginning adopted a passive attitude toward the state and accepted a highly conservative and even patriarchal conception of political authority, Calvinism has proved a revolutionary force in European and American history and has provided the moral dynamic element in the great expansion of the bourgeois culture from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries". This difference was reflected in divergent views on Natural Law. Luther's conception is a realistic recognition of the concrete order of society as produced by Providence in the course of history. Calvin, on the other hand, regarded the Natural Law as identical with the moral law, providing a norm to which we must energetically attempt to make social and individual behaviour conform. Thus Dawson is able to conclude on page 35, "the conflict between Western democracy and Nazi Germany is at bottom a conflict between two opposite conceptions of Natural Law and consequently of public morality."

The moral energy with which the Calvinist view of Natural Law has vigorously opposed all forms of political despotism provided the most valuable element in Liberalism in Western Civilisation. While recognising that secularised Liberalism was very thin stuff which inevitably ended in the present disillusionment, Dawson points out that Liberalism occupies a key position because it is the only political force in Europe today which is identified with the cause of freedom. In the coming planned society the nature and extent of freedom will be *the* crucial question. A passage on page 21 suggests that Dawson would support the reviewer in deploring the irresponsibility of large schools of contemporary theological thought which in their enthusiasm for a new-born perception of the superficiality of Liberalism in comparison with the terrible moral energy of the Word of God, end up by repudiating the modicum of the Christian Ethos, and moral and humanitarian idealism derived from it, which has in fact been objectified in our life. As C. S. Lewis points out in his *Screwtape Letters* one of the devil's modes of action is to distract the attention of theologians; so that when tyrants are most at large he can raise up a host of prophets who depreciate Liberalism.

In a chapter on the failure of the League of Nations, and in his concluding chapter, Dawson discusses the relation of Christendom to the problem of World Organisation. He notes that on the one hand plans based on the concept of nation fail to take realistic account of division of power in the modern world; and on the other that the rise of racialist and Communist ideologies is an effort to find some

primary social element around which to unify life as a substitute for the Christian basis of European unity which has disintegrated. However, the spiritual unity of Europe founded on religion and expressed in culture cannot be replaced by a biological or economic unit. Dawson's alternative to a league of nations is a league of federations, based on communtiy of culture and each organised as a society of states or nations with autonomous rights. Europe, U.S.A., the British Commonwealth, U.S.S.R., China, India are obvious possible federations.

Such a world society is still almost formless, a chaos in which the forces of destruction alone seem active. Yet it was out of an analogous chaos at the time of the break-down of the Roman Empire that the spiritual forces of Christianity formed Romans and barbarians into the new society of Christendom. Here then is the present challenge to Christians. The demonic powers which have entered the empty house of secular civilisations are not to be exorcised by economics or politics. Only Christianity, based on its conception of a spiritual society which transcends all states and cultures, can meet the forces of destruction on equal terms and save mankind from its spiritual enemies. The powers of this world, formidable though they appear, are powerless against that Spirit Who is the Lord and Giver of Life.

JOHN COLEMAN.

CHINA AMONG THE NATIONS. By H. R. Williamson. *S.C.M. Press. 6/-.*

The democracies of the world have suddenly realised that "a new member of the family" has come of age and that they can no longer take advantage of her but must welcome her as an equal into their councils of war and their planning for peace. That is why it is part of the duty of all who take their citizenship seriously, to know something of this sister nation, whose word is going to have increasing weight through the years.

For such people *China Among the Nations* is a very good introduction to the subject. The book has only 125 short pages. It reminds one of the sketches some artists can make in a few bold strokes, which are often more living and real than carefully posed and executed portraits. It is the work of a missionary-professor who has given a long life to China and therefore has an affectionate loyalty to her; and who has made it his business to know as much of her historical background, and her day to day political progress, as if he were one of her own most intelligent citizens. In the preface to his book he says: "Now that China has achieved 'equal' political

status with Great Britain and the U.S.A., the future for our mutual relationships is brighter than ever. But it is important, if the possibilities of this new relationship are to be fully realised, that our knowledge of Chinese civilisation, culture and historical development should be increased." To that end, Dr. Williamson divides his book into three parts:

1) Ancient China—Ancestry of the Nation
2) Transition—Conception of the Nation
3) Modern China—China becomes a Nation

Though China *as a democracy* only recently came of age, yet she has a long history behind her which will be a richly distinctive part of her contribution to the new world towards which we look. This is illustrated by reference through her pictorial writing to the work of some of her great sages and artists and philosophers. She was prepared for a convinced acceptance of democracy by such fundamental things as the institution of the Civil Service examinations, through which the poorest peasant's son could rise to a position of high authority; and the age-old conviction that a ruler has a right to his position of power only so long as he fills it with righteousness and benevolence.

Dr. Williamson's description of the transitional and modern periods is not only based on historical facts of national and international import, but is also illumined by vivid personal touches—and he leaves us with a very hopeful picture of the China which has now emerged to do business and exchange views with us. One of the very promising features is the fact that the nation is led by a Christian general and his Christian wife, and that the Christian forces in the country are influential far out of proportion to their numbers —partly because they are politically responsible and trustworthy.

The only criticism I have of this excellent little book is that the picture of the hopeful present and future is so glowing as to seem an accomplished fact and one forgets to notice such statements as: "The Republican ideal has not yet been achieved." We must surely be aware that in China, as in all democracies, there are, especially under war conditions, authoritarian forces at work; and that they are formidable in China just because her recent development has been so rapid, and because the influence of Christianity is not yet sufficiently wide or deep. These facts do not diminish our hope, nor our privilege of working with her as an equal; they *do* help us to recognise, as we face similar problems in our own countries, what a challenge has come to our friends in that vast land of 460,000,000 people.

I. M. B.

The Pioneering Church Series

To Glorify God. By E. Fay Campbell, James H. Nichols, and James P. Alter.

One God—One World. By Clarence Tucker Craig.

God and the Day's Work. By Robert Lowry Calhoun.

Association Press and *Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.* Student edition. 50c. each or $1.00 the set.

A series of short books have been printed by the Student Volunteer Movement as part of the preparatory material for the "Student Planning Conference on the World Mission of the Church" held in December, 1943. *To Glorify God* combines the two main thoughts of the power of prayer in the world community of Christians and the deepening of one's own devotional life. The authors seem to be writing about something which is very real to them. They care a great deal about the World's Student Christian Federation because they see in it the relationship between prayer and an awakening youth in a world-wide movement. They seem to have struggled themselves with the difficulties of making prayer reach into the deeps where it belongs. They know there is no easy answer to the question of how to make it meaningful, but they give many helpful and practical steps which any Christian can take towards spiritual maturity.

One God—One World is a helpful booklet on Bible Study which leads students gently away from the easier forms of idealism which have encouraged them to think in terms of the "building" of the Kingdom of God to the more realistic forms of responsibilities put upon Christians by the fact of the "ethical monotheism" given to us in the Bible. It includes a brief commentary on the ethical teachings of St. Matthew's Gospel, chapters 5 to 7, pointing out their challenge to the accepted standards of living today. It starts people off on their study of the Book of Acts through the sermons of Peter and Paul, showing in combination with I John, Chapter 4, the common teachings about the centrality of Jesus, the activity of God, the call to bear witness to this activity and the personal nature of God revealed through Christ. The spread of the message of the early Church is seen in its beginnings and closely related to the call to missionaries today.

God and the Day's Work is designed to guide the readers to see more clearly how their work can become part of their vocation as Christians. Work which is needed, which calls forth the fullest degree of devotion of which we are capable, and which is inseparable from worship can remake the world. Such an understanding of work

can only come with a deeper understanding of man, the worker; of God as a living mind at work, and of daily jobs as divine callings. This booklet puts before us the understanding of the Christian of these three prerequisites. In a day when so many students can only look forward to routine and "dead end" jobs, it is well to devote time to a consideration of the way meaning can be added to work, which could otherwise stultify and dull the life of so many. For missionaries, who are among the privileged in this respect, the booklet shows how the Church in so far as it works universally can create conditions which enable men to fulfil a Christian vocation.

There is a study outline which goes with these booklets. The questions are well focussed on the text, and designed to meet student discussion groups at the point of their own interests. Combined with the book printed earlier on "What is the Church Doing?" by Henry P. Van Dusen, which is essential reading for good churchmanship, the material of this "Pioneering Church Series" should be of service to student groups in Church and Christian Associations long after the December Conference.

H. M.

Notes on Contributors and Articles

Tracy Strong is General Secretary of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.s and is head of the great work carried on by the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y.M.C.A.

Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand is a historian in the University of Uppsala, whom the editor had the pleasure of meeting last March.

A. L. Warnshuis was until recently a secretary of the International Missionary Council. He personally played a leading part in the work of assisting the "orphaned missions".

Hachiro Yuasa is the former head of Doshisha University, Kyoto, and is at present in the U.S.A. He was a delegate at the Tambaram meeting of the International Missionary Council.

Roswell Barnes is Associate General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Ambrose Reeves is Rector of Liverpool, and former secretary of the W.S.C.F.

James Henderson is Secretary of the British International Student Service Committee. John Coleman is a lecturer in mathematics at Queen's University, Kingston, and a former S.C.M. secretary of the University of Toronto.

The Call to Prayer was written by Kiang Wen-Han, a vice-chairman of the W.S.C.F.

Vin Rice is a former member of the New Zealand S.C.M.

The article by Georges Casalis is taken from *Correspondance Fédérative,* and was translated by Helen Morton, and the editor.

The Reviews are by Suzanne de Dietrich, Isabel Mackenzie Brown, John Coleman, and Helen Morton.

THE STUDENT WORLD

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EDITORIAL

Culture and Christianity

Five years ago a Japanese student made a thoughtful remark, which was recorded in The Student World, *Third Quarter, 1939. "Things cultural," he said, "are panting under the oppression of things political." As the years have passed we have come to know better what he meant. More recently a European student sent us a message, asking why we were so preoccupied with the political crisis, while we neglected the far more important cultural crisis. At first it seemed strange that one who had suffered so much from adverse political events should utter this warning. But now, perhaps, we are beginning to understand what he meant also. We have all along realised that behind the political crisis lay a cultural breakdown, but now we are coming to see that the most disastrous result of the present catastrophe may not be in the political, but in the cultural sphere.*

Official propaganda in the English-speaking world ignores this problem; for it is rightly concerned with military victory. There is even the suggestion in public pronouncements that after the forces which challenge our Western culture have been defeated we shall all live happily ever after. The attainment of the "four

freedoms" will put mankind in a position compared with which its pre-war existence will seem sad and restricted. There is of course a political criticism, which is valid at this point, in that much of the denial of freedom in the world is not at all connected with the issues of the present struggle. For example, excellent United Nations posters in certain Latin American countries can only seem ironical to the passer-by. Already in the pages of The Student World *we have shown that at least we are conscious of some of these political problems which the present war will not solve.*

But there is a more fundamental criticism of the "four freedoms", regarded as a sufficient objective for mankind, which is not so often raised. What is freedom of worship to the millions who have lost the art of worship, do not know whom to worship, or no longer desire to worship? What is freedom of speech to those who have nothing to say, do not know where to find what to say, or are content to talk nonsense? As Denis de Rougemont points out, freedom from want is not of much use to humanity, unless it is related to a sense of vocation. And there is evidence that for many the fear from which they seek to be freed is not so much the fear of men as the fear of the unknown, or of themselves. Can it be that mankind is realising on a world scale that it must defend its freedom just at the moment when it has finally ceased to know what to do with it?

The contention of all the articles which follow is that Christianity is vitally related to this crisis in culture. Walter Horton and Claudio Gutiérrez-Marín both deal with the historical connection between Christianity and culture, and leave us with the conviction that culture must grow from religious roots. Helen Hill Miller illuminates a philosophical and theological argument by her whimsical, yet powerful, handling of a situation in life. Henri Hatzfeld, who is one of the leading younger theologians in Federation circles, courageously nails the problem down to the reading-desk and the laboratory table.

"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" is our contention as Christians facing the cultural crisis. We believe that Christianity alone can show mankind how to use its freedom. We know from the pages of history, and from our own experi-

ence as Christians, that this is true. But the world no longer believes it to be so. The Christian Church has often been too late on the political scene; is it now to be too late on the cultural scene? In intellectual and social life Christianity seems to have lost hold of the materials out of which civilisation is made. One of the peculiar tasks of a student *Christian movement should be to see that another generation of Christians regains that hold. Perhaps the best place to begin is in those workshops of civilisation, which we call universities.*

R. C. M.

The Cultural Responsibility of the Church

Denis de Rougemont

There is a striking agreement between the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the statements formulated by the great ecumenical conferences. But it is none the less remarkable that none of these documents makes any allusion to the cultural order of tomorrow. And yet it is certain that if the churches continue to neglect this question, the cessation of hostilities will usher in a period of the worst confusion.

A Glance at the Post-war Situation

The youth of nearly all the countries in the world will have been subjected to several years of military training and to a more or less complete interruption of intellectual activity. We must foresee, then, a general lowering of educational levels, of the standards of classical culture, not only in countries torn to pieces by the war, but equally or even more so in countries like the United States.

In modern warfare everything contributes to a lowering of the intellectual level: propaganda, the vital necessity of simplifying all problems, of judging according to utilitarian exigencies rather than to the demands of truth, of thinking in masses or in majorities, of putting all the evil on one side and all the good on the other, of suspecting of sabotage those who maintain an attitude of exacting criticism or a normal sense of justice.

Furthermore, war always has the effect of outmoding the cultural standards of the pre-war period, even in the victor nations. In the conquered countries youth will accuse the culture of the older generation and of their parents of having brought on the catastrophe. Many of the leaders even of the present generation will have disappeared. There will be a very strong demand for new leaders, new values, a new ideal; a powerful desire to start anew, and not to fall back into the traditional errors, or to return to the disciplines of the bourgeois era.

This demand, springing from material and spiritual chaos, may well wear again the appearance of cultural fascism: the

need of leaders, the violence of war transferred to the realm of the spirit, a taste for adventure, but also intellectual oversimplification. We saw something comparable happen in Europe after the first World War. This time it will be much more violent, for the second World War has brought into play ideologies far more potent and dynamic.

It would be romantic to suppose that the present war has destroyed all the eternal illusions of mankind. On the contrary, we have reason to fear that they will find a new virulence under new names. The post-war generations will not necessarily be more matter of fact or more cynical. (They will pretend to be, of course.) But they will undoubtedly hunger and thirst more for answers to their questions, for guidance, for catholic ideals —in the etymological sense of the word catholic—for "total" solutions in the cultural realm. For the bourgeois period has been an era of division, of the absence of relationships and of a common measure between ideal and practice, between the diverse disciplines of the spirit, between the diverse human and social activities.

The post-war years will probably be characterised by the following traits: intellectual lacunae, a thirst for spiritual adventures (among the finest individuals), need for firm direction, for "totalitarian" speed.

The Task of the Churches

If the Christian churches do not give this firm and truly catholic direction (embracing all the aspects of life), the abyss will widen between the religious world and culture. The latter will set itself against Christianity, and probably with the following orientations: science (scientism), pagan eudaemonism, the cult of those values which are said to "belong to life", the creation of new religious, virulent nationalisms.

But if a church is to be in a position to intervene in the cultural process, it must be based on a firm doctrine, on a theology which is at the same time rigorous and vital within the church. A church whose theology is vague has nothing more to say in the domain of culture.

Such a church can still give counsel in the political field. It can, for example, approve a document like the Atlantic Charter, which does not emanate from a theology nor even directly from

Christianity. It can rally to a political attitude, inspired by pure humanism. But in the realm of culture, it is a wholly different matter. Here a church cannot adopt the ideologies made by others. It cannot speak effectively except in the name of its own theology, and by relating what it says in the most direct way to that theology.

Thus it is that the Roman Catholic Church led the philosophical movement of the Middle Ages. Thus the Reformation of Luther and of Calvin fought successfully against the Renaissance and inspired a vast cultural movement. Later, when the Roman and Reformed theologies became atrophied, they no longer dared nor yet were able to intervene as inspiring influences in the cultural controversy. The abyss began to open between the Church and culture. A Christian of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, for example, could believe the official doctrines of his denomination, and at the same time admire Wagner, or Whitman, or Renoir, without even asking himself if this were at all compatible with his creed. For theology had in fact ceased to be living, precise, and exacting—and therefore inspiring.

Thomism inspired Dante; Calvinism inspired Rembrandt; Lutheranism inspired Bach; Puritanism inspired Milton. But the liberal Protestantism of the nineteenth century and of the twentieth, has inspired not one artist, musician, poet, or creative philosopher. Because it made no clear, strong demands, because it did not offer the creative instinct a framework and fixed boundaries to be at once a stimulus and a guide.

First, then, if the Church has nothing to give to nor to demand of culture, the latter will thereby find itself impoverished and disoriented; it will be cut off from its roots. For all Western culture was born of Christian theology and liturgy, whether in conformity with the Christian code or in revolt against it. (The great modern philosophies, those of Descartes and Hegel, were born of controversy which was clearly theological in its origins.)

And in the second place, if culture loses contact with the Church, with its doctrine and its worship, then the Church loses its most effective means of acting on the age, of transforming its beliefs into creative action. Creativity in general eludes it. All that is created, is then created outside the Church or in opposition to it and becomes difficult to integrate into a Christian conception of the world. This is particularly striking in the

Protestant countries, where a concern to relate any work of culture to a rigid theology has almost entirely disappeared—for lack of a rigid theology. The Roman Church has kept a stronger hold on intellectual creativity because it is zealous to preserve the rights and the duties of theological criticism in all fields, and not only in a negative and restrictive manner.

What then can the churches do to contribute toward the creation of a cultural order in the chaos of tomorrow? We propose a simple reply. The churches will be able to act and inspire if they are based on a firm and complete doctrine. They will be effective in the measure in which they intervene in the name of their theology. They will be effective if they make demands instead of losing interest or of following belatedly the trend of the day.

Vocation: the fundamental principle

In order to pass from the theology of a church to social, cultural, political or economic applications, it would seem to be a good idea to define certain principles or intermediary stages between theology and ethics.

The intermediate category which appears the most fruitful in the cultural and social realm is that of *vocation* (in the Calvinistic and Lutheran sense of the term, which is wider than that of Rome). The Gospel teaches us that *every* man is capable of receiving a vocation, a special call, which distinguishes him from his kind, and which endows him with an inalienable dignity to the degree to which he obeys the call. This is the fundamental principle of any social order which may be called Christian. One can also accept the idea of general or collective vocation, applied to a nation or even to a generation. Every being, whether individual or collective, for whom the Church can pray, is capable of receiving a vocation.

Now the great social and cultural maladies of the modern age have all this one common characteristic: that they deny personal vocation (whether nationalist, racial, or class collectivism, biological, moral or bourgeois materialism. Individualism is likewise a morbid deviation from the sense of vocation for it denies social and community implications). The chief criticism of this is the following: an ideology which denies personal vocation, or

a social regime which deprives man of the freedom to obey his vocation, are incompatible with Christianity.

All the totalitarian ideologies, for example, deny by definition the fact of personal vocation. They replace it with an *ersatz:* the function of the citizen within the state or the party, as decreed by the state or the party. They deny diversities or qualify them as morbid, reactionary, individualistic, anti-social. They are therefore incompatible with the Christian order which presupposes union in diversity.

All the *unitarian* doctrines, seeking to establish a mechanical and rigid homogeneity, whether imposed from above (state, tyrant), or from below (egalitarianism to the uttermost), deny personal vocation or the vocation of a group, and consider it dangerous or scandalous. These doctrines are thus incompatible with the Christian order, which implies union and not uniformity, and which respects diversity of endowment, the diversity of members in the same body, many mansions in the Kingdom of God.

A social order cannot be termed Christian unless it is founded on respect for vocation, and unless it assures to every man (and to each group or collective entity) the liberty of realising that divine, unique, and inalienable vocation.

A Christian social order will thus be ecumenical rather than unitarian. It will be federal rather than centralised (in the cultural, religious, and social realms). It will put the rights and duties of the individual (that is, the individual burdened with a vocation), before the rights and duties of the state (the organism whose task is to secure in a material sense the freedom of the individual).

The Social Consequences of Vocation

1. A Christian doctrine, centered on the idea of the vocation of individuals, will always put the emphasis on duty rather than on rights. Let us take the example of an army. Military regulations do not define the rights of a captain, but only his duties and functions. It goes without saying that the organisation of the army is such that a captain will always have the means of exercising his duties: that is his freedom, he has no other. Now the *Ecclesia militans* resembles an army far more than it resembles an abstract constitution defining the rights of the individual independently of the duties of his office.

2. A Christian doctrine which takes seriously the fact of the divine vocation of a man or of a collective body, will condemn any system which mechanically impedes the realisation of that vocation. It will therefore condemn, in the name of theology, the great bureaucratic machines, in which individuals are abstractly moved on according to the requirements of the machine and not according to their real vocations. It will condemn the system of private capital in the measure in which it sets in motion the means of material power by the chances of stock market operations, for instance, and not according to the rights derived from the exercise of a vocation. It will condemn every economic system which makes man the plaything of the interests of the State, of a trust, of material production, of individual or collective will-to-power.

3. The churches will fight on behalf of everything which assures to an individual or a collective body the legal liberty and the material means to accomplish his vocation. They will do it in the name of their doctrine, and with great precision. They will not do it in the name of conceptions which are purely humanistic or religiously neutral, such as progress, social justice (of the "left"), the social order (of the "right"), national interest, or economic prosperity.

The duty of the churches is to rethink all these categories, and to criticise them in a specifically Christian setting. For example, there must be a redefinition of the "Four Freedoms" in terms of the functioning of a Christian doctrine of vocation. (Freedom from want does not mean prosperity as an end, but the accordance of the material possibility to everyone to realise his vocation, etc.)

Thus, and thus alone, will the churches regain an effective authority. They will cease to identify themselves in the eyes of the man on the street, with this or that social class, with the established order, or with the reform of the moment. They will cease to be dragged in the wake of movements initiated by others, with motives and for ends which are not necessarily Christian.

The Cultural Consequences

From the point of view of an ethic founded on vocation, two dangers threaten modern culture: a) a false universalism, the product of an education which has no colour, confessional, philosophical or regional, and no definite ties with a real community; and b) nationalism, spiritual autarchy.

The vocation of a man or of a group is that which both distinguishes and integrates that man or that group. These two factors should be reconciled and vigilantly safeguarded—the universal factor and the one which sets him apart.

It is greatly to be desired, for instance, that institutions of education (colleges or universities) be founded on a confessional (i.e., denominational) basis plainly stated, side by side with lay, neutral or non-Christian institutions, and that all instruction, in every field, be dominated by the doctrine of the Church in question, as is the case in the Roman Catholic Institutes and the Calvinist University in Holland. This would result in the creation of centers of culture which are clearly diversified, but which favour intellectual striving and a greater integration of culture and theology.

But at the same time, in order to safeguard the universalist factor, it is necessary that in the denominational schools, reasonably thorough instruction should be given about the other denominations: the ecumenical department. For we only come to know ourselves by learning about others, just as we come to know others better by understanding ourselves.

The general attitude then would be to deepen and integrate to the highest degree each cultural vocation of the group (whether religious or national), and all with a view to the union (federal or ecumenical) of these vocations in a far more comprehensive whole—the body and its members; never to seek union through the neutralising of differences and peculiarities, but on the contrary to seek to compose them.

The second problem to envisage is that of closer collaboration between Church and Intelligentsia. In the present state of affairs, this organic collaboration is lacking. Only the ecumenical movement has given to a certain number of scholars, historians, and writers the opportunity of working for the churches as a whole. But the greater part of the denominations (especially the Protestant ones) lack the means of bringing into organic contact the creators of culture and the Church as such—the Church as a body of doctrine and as a community. In this field everything remains to be created. And something must be created if we wish to avoid the development of tomorrow's culture along lines which diverge more and more from a Christian conception of the world.

Religion and the Cultural Crisis

Walter M. Horton

As we peer anxiously into the future, to discern what part religion is to play in post-war reconstruction, it may help to sharpen our prophetic vision if we first cast a glance backward at the historic role of religion in the cultures and civilisations of the past—many of which survive to this day as persistent variations in prevailing social patterns. The generalisations I shall make concerning religion and culture are based partly on a study of the historic roots of our own Western culture, and partly on travel notes taken down in the course of two trips around the world, in 1932 and 1938-39, when for the first time I became acquainted with cultural traditions widely different from my own.

Religion and Culture in the West

I was born in Massachusetts, not far from the Bunker Hill Monument, and learned in elementary school something I never had to unlearn: that our New England culture had as its main tap-root the religious faith of the Pilgrims and Puritans in the sovereignty of God, and their religious hope of founding on our rock-bound shores a civil and ecclesiastical commonwealth more nearly after the pattern of the divine commands than anything so far seen in the Old World. Later on I learned to interpret the development of New England culture mainly in terms of the transformation of that Calvinist heritage by the evangelical fervour of Edwards and Whitefield, the revolutionary radicalism of the Deists and Unitarians, the romantic idealism of Emerson and Bushnell, and finally by that extraordinary galaxy of religious philosophers who taught at Harvard in the first decade of the present century: Palmer, Royce, James, Munsterberg and Santayana. Here, I am sure, in this line of religious tradition, is the vital root to which the flowering of New England culture in its prime can be traced, and from which many graceful shoots continued to spring in what Van Wyck Brooks calls its Indian Summer; since which time, with the withering of these roots, the cultural fruitage of my native soil tends to sink into a decline.

Though New England is perhaps the most history-conscious part of America, I never really met the past in all its depth and grandeur until one memorable day in 1921 when, just after landing in France as a graduate student, I went out for a morning stroll in Paris and encountered the Pantheon, with its simple and solemn inscription, *Aux Grands Morts La Patrie Reconnaisante.* As during the succeeding winter I studied the lives and works of the many "great dead" to whom France has reason to be "grateful," they arranged themselves in a pattern whose organising center was furnished by Etienne Gilson. His lectures on medieval philosophy were by all odds the most brilliant and illuminating I heard at the Sorbonne, and they convinced me that the vital roots of French civilisation still lay in the Middle Ages, despite all the efforts of eighteenth century revolutionists and nineteenth century positivists to lay the axe to those roots. Amongst the many great men who had taught or studied at the Sorbonne, Abelard, Bonaventura, Aquinas, and at a later date the Jesuits and Jansenists, were still the giants, so far as persistent cultural influence was concerned, and their nineteenth century successors rode upon their shoulders like pygmies, shouting derision at them in phrases culled from their works, and belabouring them with sticks which they themselves had cut to fend off their opponents. What was there in modern French anti-clerical diatribes that was not already better said in Abelard's *Sic et Non* or Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*? What would be left of modern French culture if these centrifugal critical tendencies finally should destroy the sound core of medieval Catholic culture which still remained intact in France after all the revolutionary storms of modern French history had beaten upon it?

I must not unduly prolong this intellectual Pilgrim's Progress. Suffice it to say that as I have pursued the sources of European culture from the Pantheon at Paris to the Pantheon at Rome, and from Rome to Athens and Jerusalem, I have found religion to be the master-key to the whole history of the West.

Religion and Culture in the East

While I came to this conclusion through historical study, it has been immensely strengthened through travel in recent years. Until you leave your own country, and travel in foreign countries, you do not become acutely aware of the religious assumptions

which undergird all the fundamental institutions of society. European travel is in this respect not really *foreign* travel, for until the Russian and German revolutions in recent years, Europe and America were bound together by all sorts of common religious assumptions derived from the Hebrew-Christian tradition, which were as natural even to the most secular minds among us, as the air we breathed. It was only when I first went beyond Europe to countries like Egypt, India, Thailand, China, Japan, and the islands of the Pacific, that I became sharply aware of entering into a really foreign cultural environment, as if the air had suddenly changed its feel and its tang. Here, again, the clue to understanding this change of feel and tang is a religious clue. The art, the social customs, the whole cultural complex of the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, and Polynesia are simply "outlandish" and "heathenish" to the Western traveler until he learns to understand them as expressions of *Moslem* culture, overlapping in India with *Hindu* culture, which in turn overlaps with the *Buddhist-Confucian-Shintoist* culture of East Asia, and in Indonesia gradually merges into the *primitive religious* culture of the Pacific island peoples.

Out of contact with a number of such foreign cultures, there has gradually grown in my mind a concept of what a culture is. It is like a wheel, whose hub is religious, whose spokes are what we call the *mores*—the accepted folkways and moral customs—and whose rim is constituted by the "material culture" characteristic of that particular society; that is, the way they feed and clothe and house and transport themselves, and in general deal with their physical environment. It might be more suggestive of the *liveness* of a culture if I changed the figure and compared it with an amoeba or some other simple one-celled organism, whose nucleus was religious, whose moving outer edge was its material culture, and whose *mores* were a kind of elementary nervous system of filaments connecting the nucleus with the outer edge—more sensitive than anything possessed by the amoeba, but less so than the nervous system of the higher types of organism. In any event, the *center* of a culture is composed of a cluster of *ends and meanings, for* which it lives, grouped about some supreme object of religious trust and devotion which dominates and unifies them; while the *periphery* of a culture is composed of a set of *ways and means, by* which it lives. So long as a culture is in a state of health, there is unity, harmony, and hierarchical

order between the hub, the spokes and the rim. The moral ends of life grow out of the chief end of life, which religion defines. The arts and crafts, music and drama help to express, to exalt, to celebrate the same supreme ends. The political and economic systems are pervaded and controlled by moral ideals and religious meanings (the same which are glorified in art and drama and sacred liturgy), while they also form a bridge between the spiritual and material aspects of the culture; for every healthy culture must of course be adapted effectively, by a characteristic set of feeding and housing and clothing and travel facilities, to the geographic environment in which it lives, and able to defend itself, by isolation or diplomacy or by military means if necessary, against the encroachment of other cultures.

The Plight of World Culture

So to describe a healthy culture is to recognise at once that ours is not healthy. No culture on earth today, whether primitive or oriental or occidental, is in a state of health. All are in a state of inward disharmony, of dissociation and conflict between their professed or implicit ends and their actual means of living; and this conflict has reached such a pitch, in many instances, as to bring death and dissolution to the whole culture. In primitive and oriental cultures, the cause of disease and death is external: contact with the corrosive "acids of modernity" spread abroad by Western culture. In Western culture itself the cause is internal: the disintegrating effect of these same acids upon all the organic bonds of unity which once upon a time held Western society together. Let us take a look at what is happening in both fields.

In every part of the world Western culture creates a violent reaction in every other culture. Many of these are dying out suddenly, particularly primitive ones such as I have seen relics of in Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, and New Zealand.

In Western civilisation there are all sorts of mechanical devices and gadgets which appeal to more primitive peoples. They think they can adopt these without affecting their own culture, but taking them over disturbs the spiritual meaning of their culture. There is a conflict of ends and means and a collapse of *mores* is the result. The medicine-men protest, but modernised youth snap their fingers at the old taboos. Lightning

does not strike them dead, but there is a feeling of up-rootedness, they are weaned away from the soil of their ancestors, they become detached individualists. The unity of the life of the culture is destroyed. Finally even the will to live disappears, and the people begin to die off—partly from imported diseases, but partly also because the religious heart of their culture has ceased to beat, and they have nothing to live for.

This is not so likely to take place in the meeting between Western culture and the more developed cultures of the East, but even these are profoundly shaken. The harmony between their centre and their periphery is destroyed.

In Asia we find diverse reactions to Western civilisation. Turkish and other Mohammedan cultures feel that they can adopt the material side of Western civilisation without disturbing their inherited spiritual traditions. At the opposite end of Asia, in Japan, the same attempt has been made, with more conspicuous results. The Japanese have used Western contrivances in the service of oriental ends and meanings. Their central spiritual core remains Shinto, but the disharmony between this inward core and the Western externals results in nervous instability and manifold incongruities. In India the opposite has happened. The spiritual culture of the West is appreciated but the material culture is abominated. Christ is loved but modern industrialism is hated. In China they blow hot and cold by turns regarding both the material and the spiritual culture of the West. In the Boxer Uprising and in the anti-foreign movement of the twenties, both were rejected. Lately, both have been appropriated, and this seems likely to become China's permanent policy. All these nations consider that the material culture and the spiritual culture of the West are separate and distinct entities. They consider that we of the West are not integrated and that our material means at present do not implement the spiritual ends to which we subscribe as was the case in the Middle Ages.

They are right. Ever since the beginnings of the Modern Age, the material periphery of Western culture has been expanding out of all proportion to the ability of its spiritual center to direct and control the process. Bergson has described the resulting condition as "an over-developed body with a shrivelled brain". Since the improvement in our material culture has become so rapid and so absorbing, we are losing sight of the spiritual ends

and meanings which ought to be controlling our selection of the material means we employ. Albert Schweitzer in his "Philosophy of Civilisation" compares us to boys shooting down-hill in a toboggan, enjoying the thrill of motion so much that we are forgetting to steer.

Can Civilisation be saved?

Unless Western culture can recover its grip on its central meaning and purpose, unless it can look up again to the Reality that governs all human affairs and recover its faith in something more enduring than gadgets and contraptions, something enduringly true while cultures rise and fall, we cannot achieve the regeneration of our culture. Only religious regeneration, collective religious regeneration which will give our whole culture a new heart and soul, as Christianity gave a new heart and soul to dying Rome, can save Western civilisation from the disintegration into which it is rapidly slipping.

I say disintegration, and not only dissociation. Not only are the means of living becoming dissociated from the ends of life, here in the West, but every element in our culture is becoming unloosed from every other part, like a radioactive substance disintegrating. Politics and economics long ago declared their independence from morals. Education has become a collection of uninterpreted facts arranged by specialists in multifarious little heaps, with no unifying meaning. Art and literature serve up miscellaneous cold cuts known as *tranches de vie,* unrelated slices of life from which the life has departed.

Inherited morals survived for some time, as practical guides to life, after the religious faith which gave them birth had died; but now morals, too, are declining into a general relativism. The increase of divorce is connected closely with this growth of moral relativism, it seems to me. How can a man and a woman be expected to stick together for life if they have no common beliefs and no common purposes, and each does what is right in his or her own eyes?

All this dissociation and disintegration is still going on before our eyes. But another process, of horrified revulsion and instinctive pulling of ourselves together, is simultaneously going on. Above all since the rise of Nazism, with its terrific exposure of what it means to repudiate the whole moral and religious tradi-

tion of the West, and embrace complete moral relativism, complete religious nihilism, there is visible throughout the Western nations a kind of spreading blush of shame, which is at the same time a flush of returning vigour and renascent faith. The most sceptical critic of the Hebrew-Christian tradition, when confronted with the attempt to erect a culture on the anti-Semitic, anti-Christian *opposite* of everything taught by the Old Testament prophets, the New Testament apostles, the Greek philosophers, the medieval scholastics and the Protestant reformers—confronted with this, our critic can be heard to mutter under his breath, "My God, not *that.*"

Religion and Reconstruction

From all that has been said, it is evident that I believe the most fundamental need of our world, in the coming period of reconstruction, is the need for religious renewal: the need to have all the ends of life freshly unified and hierarchically ordered in relation to one Chief End, which Judaism and Christianity call the will of God; the need to have art and literature freshly inspired by these ends, and politics and economics firmly subordinated to them; the need, finally, to put the mere machinery of life in the position of *means humbly serving these ends.* That, and only that, will finally restore us to social health and save us from global destruction.

If religious renewal is the world's most *fundamental* need, it is not necessarily the most *urgent.* As a matter of fact, it will certainly take too long to help us immediately very much, in this present crisis. The permeation of decadent Roman civilisation by the new Christian spirit took several centuries. Our modern means of communication permit us to transmit new impulses speedily, but do not permit us overnight to raise up prophets and apostles fit to unite East and West in a new religious consensus. God will not be *used;* He must first be listened to, and obeyed, by humble and contrite hearts; and it takes a lot of beating, a lot of humiliating failure, to make human beings humble and contrite enough to get clean hearts and a right spirit deeply renewed within them. While we watch and wait for that deep inward transformation to make us one with each other, all over the face of the planet, by first becoming one with the requirements of Ultimate Reality, there are various urgent measures we must take

at once, if this slow process of regeneration is to have a fair chance to work:

1. *Military.* We must find some way of getting heavy weapons into the hands of responsible people, acting as trustees for all nations, small or great, before these appallingly powerful means of dominance fall into the hands of a few irresponsible gangsters and we fall into slavery for a thousand years.

2. *Political.* We must find some way of passing beyond national sovereignty to genuine world government, firm enough to repress aggression, flexible enough to make readjustment of national interests and liberation of colonial peoples possible.

3. *Economic.* We must find some way of evening up the distribution of this world's economic resources, so that shocking differences in standard of living, such as subsist between different classes in many nations, and between the whole Western world and the Asiatic and African masses, are overcome before they cause world-wide revolution.

I have listed these needs in order of immediate urgency. At all three points I believe religion can help, even in the present disorganised state of the world's religious forces. All serious religious movements are at one in their affirmation of a moral order superior to man, to which human military power, human governments, human economic systems, are all ultimately responsible. Jews, Catholics and Protestants in the United States recently issued an important Declaration on World Peace, in which they declared themselves at one concerning the existence of a moral law governing world order, concerning the need of protecting the rights of individuals, weak or colonial peoples, and minorities, and finally concerning the need of institutions capable of maintaining a just order in the political and economic relations *between* states, as well as *within* states. The corner-stone of this declaration is the proposition laid down in the first article, that "not only individuals but nations, states and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law that comes from God."

To such a declaration many oriental religionists would also subscribe. Certainly the Confucianists, who taught the Golden Rule long before Christ, would subscribe to the fundamental proposition that there is a superhuman moral law—the way of

Heaven, which all their sages endeavoured to enunciate—ruling over international as well as over inter-personal relations.

While our religious forces remain disunited, we must pool our existing religious traditions in support of common objectives. But we must likewise aspire to a world-wide religious unity deeper-going than this, like the unity which the triumph of Christianity gave to the Roman world. So far as Protestants are concerned, no world unity is desirable which involves a sacrifice of freedom, or of the sacred right of each man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. But in recent years, Protestants have discovered a way out of sectarian division into growing unity, without sacrificing freedom, in what is called the ecumenical movement. In this movement the old fatal alternative—either freedom without unity or unity without freedom—seems to be overcome. The oneness which now binds together many Protestant sects which used to be hostile, in the World Council of Churches, we believe may some day be extended beyond Protestantism. Some day it may bind Protestants together with God-fearing men of other faiths, without disloyalty on either side, into a new religious unity which will in the end restore health to our sick and divided world culture.

Culture and Christianity

C. Gutiérrez-Marín

Ancient chronicles relate that the Great Emir Abderraman the Third, the real glory of the Cordoban Caliphate, "commanded that the mosques be constructed beside the schools, so that from childhood man may become accustomed to see in the path of his life both culture and godliness together". And even now the Arab people observe the wise precept of the Emir as a traditional usage. Amongst my scholastic memories of the old Spanish land appears that of an ancient Castilian city, where for a period of five years I could read the following inscription painted on the front of the school building which I used to attend: *"Initium sapientiae est timor Domini"*. (The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.) This phrase taken from the Book of Proverbs was the guide-post to the scholastic life. And in that inscription upon the wall I found an inspiration for my own life. Culture and Christianity are like two great oars in the barque of life upon which humanity, anxious to see better days and enjoy peace, will put its hands. But, be it fully understood, we are speaking of a culture of the Christian spirit and of a Christianity of the cultured spirit.

The faith of uncultured humanity

Humanity has gone through different stages of evolution, both determinate of, and determined by, its way of thinking and living. In the world's dawn faith holds the first place in the social scale. Man is more a believing than an enlightened being. Religion in its embryonic form (animism, fetichism, idolatry) is all. Life moves round that faith, due, undoubtedly, to the fact that the human soul has always felt the necessity of believing and a great longing for happiness. In the dwellings of primitive man, caves, caverns, huts, there has been found, alongside hunting instruments and weapons, tools and utensils, a trace of faith (totem paints, strange symbols), something at least to show a spark of faith. The original tombs are silent expressions in this

same language. That this godliness is rudimentary, absurd and even barbarous, lacking dogmas and unprovided with temples, does not matter. The main thing is to show the positive fact: man believes in something, he believes in someone, and in his own way he worships and tries to ingratiate himself with the supernatural. There is no tribe, no people on earth, who may not have been deeply religious in their own manner. The altar for offering and sacrifice is lifted just the same in east and west, either as a heap of logs or earth, or in the stone laid down or erected, or simply appearing beyond the distant horizon in the natural summit of rising ground, or the rough crest of a mountain.

Man believes; man worships. If upon this historic fact falls the depreciative phrase that "man is a religious animal", this same disdainful qualification will also be for him his glorious achievement. And, in opposition, man does not *know,* man moves in the shadows, ignorant of almost all. His culture scarcely raises him above the level of the beasts. For this reason his faith will be superstitious, a sort of credulity highly motivating for one who would go into the innermost places of the soul. Therefore, by walking so, in the absence of a reasonable and prudent light, man is restless in the mists of the ages, driven by a rush of confused and contradictory ideas, and launches forth to deify the sun and the moon, and is persuaded that the spirits, able to animate all things, move in the water, in the wind and in the clouds; he sets up his sanctuary in a tree, a hill or stone and surrounds it with a holy and puerile terror; he sticks his sword in the ground, bows down before it, and finally, makes out of an irrational although beneficent being, a god or a goddess. Man nevertheless continues to believe and worship. He may be uncultured, yet he is a believer, a barbarian but a godly man. And in the midst of advancing humanity, there always appears the hieratic and mysterious figure of the magus, wizard, or soothsayer, prophet and priest at the same time, joining in his person and office faith and culture. He is the guide to blind people who still grope in darkness. According to his judgment life around him goes forward. In his hand is sentence for the present and the future. Faith continues to be the whole; yet man finally comes to understand that besides the precious gift of faith there exists in him another gift as valuable, intelligence. This spark will force him to take the road toward the conquest of the earth, leaning upon the shield of his faith.

Religions and civilisations

Amidst such feelings more or less clarified, culture begins to appear. It seems as if it is harder for man to learn than to believe. Observation, experience and meditation lead him to write the first page in the book of culture. He may weep and lament, yet he goes forward. His culture, drawn from the mystery of life by means of a superhuman effort, is moulded, producing successive civilisations, though civilisation is undivided. There is only one civilisation, as there is only one humanity. Faith in its turn makes its concrete manifestations, and the altar, the temple, the priesthood, the dogma appear as an immediate consequence. The so-called positive religions take their place in that course. Faith is always positive, else it would cease to be faith. The superior forms of religions, although not at all dispossessed of superstitions almost unrootable, adopt concrete positions. And once on the road of human ascent, faith and culture continue walking side by side, possibly through clearly distinguished fields and without hindering or excommunicating each other. They are like two congenial sisters who feel the necessity of living united for greater blessing and better results. How much, or what do they owe to each other? Nobody can fix this agelong debt, for while it is true that culture has been, and must continue to be the means of purifying faith within the rational field, it is also true that faith, as a feeling and as a life and moral law, has served and will still serve greatly to exalt Humanity.

This effective union, observed in the first manifestation of culture and faith, becomes more evident in the old world associated with Greece, the mother of philosophy and Rome, the origin of Law. In Hellenism and Latinism faith and culture bind themselves in relations of friendship. Greek philosophy speculates on theology. Plato or Socrates speak as the most cultured priests of their time could have done. Philosophy does not try to put down religion, though it may lack dogma or be a simple religious feeling without doctrinal body. Philosophers do not discuss the gods, nor do the gods excommunicate the philosophers. If there is a short distance between them, it is due to the philosophers' eagerness to surpass religion, in a chimerical attempt, almost always frustrated, to direct the mind of the people toward a more purified faith. Theological unity cannot be a successful postulate of the Platonic and Socratic philosophers. In turn Greek art and literature would not exist without mythology.

Rome, heiress of Greece follows the same rule, Virgil the poet, or Cicero the orator, invoke their deities in their speeches and poems. Culture and godliness complement and comprehend each other, though the diverse doctrines of the one, and the superstitions of the other are sometimes opposed to morality.

Does Christ exalt ignorance?

With the appearance of Christianity as a new faith and expression of life, a tendency to misinterpretation arises. It is suggested that, Christianity is going to launch forth against philosophy and to produce a terrible schism between faith and culture. Deplorable doctrines begin to appear. (For instance there was that famous one known as the "Abecedarian heresy," named so because ignorance even of the ABC was lifted to the rank of a dogma!) To be no scholar was to them the first step in reaching faith. Such an extravagance was caused by a false interpretation of the prayer of our Lord: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes" (Matthew 11: 25). From this many Christians made the deduction that God blessed and exalted the ignorant, and that ignorance was necessary to attain to revelation. Of course nothing could be farther from the truth. God, the creator of human intelligence, could not, and can never, set aside its value for man; neither wisdom nor science can be definite obstacles in the acquisition of faith. A God who would like to have ignorant servants, just because they are so, could never deserve to be called a God. What Jesus meant and said was that the "little ones", "the humble", the simple-hearted, were and will always be nearer to the path of faith, because they are free from the pride which science, and too much learning very often bring forth; and because they do not seek first by means of reason the wherefore and the basis of faith and divine matters, but accept the same as a gift.

We are perfectly aware, as the Apostle Paul would say, that "knowledge puffeth up" (I Corinthians 1: 8), that is to say, that science occasionally darkens the vision of things divine, and even is unable to perceive that which really is not a question of science, but a concern of faith. Moreover the wise "babe", who is conscious of little knowledge in himself, and who can even

say, "I only know that I know nothing" (Socrates), and much less regarding that which is supernatural, namely revelation, is as near the Reign of God as any other mortal not in the possession of mental capacity and human science. Christ does not exalt ignorance but humility. The process of faith opens its way more easily in the heart of the humble. It is related that when the great Augustine, that luminary of the Church, was questioned as to which was the road that led to God, he replied: there is no way to God but humility. They again asked him if there could still be others, and the Bishop of Hippo answered: Yes, there are two other ways: the second one is called humility, and the third one . . . humility. That great man of faith and science spoke the truth. Paul's attitude in Athens when lamenting the Athenian idolatry was not that of a challenge to Hellenic culture. Paul does not argue about the Greeks being ignorant or unbelievers, but he emphasises the fact that the Christian truth which he proclaims is superior to that which the priests and philosophers believed and sustained. Paul attacks the idolatry of the Greeks, but not their culture, and if he uses hard words against the wise of this world and calls them fools (Romans 1: 22 and I Corinthians 1: 20) it is to say, not that they should cease to be wise, but that because of their wisdom they cannot see the truth as revealed in Christ, "who of God is made unto us wisdom" (I Corinthians 1: 30).

Christianity as an exponent of culture

We find another proof of the association between faith and Christian culture in the four great figures of the Church of the first centuries. Tertullian (160-245), Clement (150-215), Origen (185-254) and Augustine (354-430), are certainly not uncultured, but glorious exponents of a whole Christian and universal culture. Their treatises, their exegeses, from a philosophical and doctrinal point of view, do not need to envy the most advantageous philosophies and sanest doctrines of the Greeks and Romans. Another argument is found in the appearance of the Fourth Gospel, coming out of the Alexandrian school. The Gospel of St. John which really is the theological Gospel, is intimately related to philosophy. It is a Gospel in which, as in no other, symbol and mystery are inseparably united. The philosophy which it contains is very close to the founts of Greek philoso-

phy; and nobody doubts that this is the first of all the Gospels, as far as cultural and doctrinal rank is concerned.

Later centuries disclose another demonstration of the union between culture and faith. When the wave of monasticism invaded the world, the monasteries, abbeys and convents became the living archives of human culture, and in their shady vaults and picturesque cloisters, the learning of the epoch found a refuge. Even now, the great libraries, full of chronicles and the illuminated manuscripts of the ancient centers of solitary and contemplative faith, continue to hold immense treasures for modern civilisation. And we may not forget that, when the university, the maximum exponent of culture then as at present, appeared in the world, one of its most thronged and venerated lecture rooms was that of Theology, and in it the ideas of famous men were propagated. In them Aristotelian thought, scholastic thought, with Thomas Aquinas as its head, was the owner and mistress of the intellectual life of the university scholar. And to end these great sweeps of association between culture and Christianity, we may not forget that Humanism, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the three great influences upon future generations started from men who were not only believers but enlightened, who did not abhor science nor put a stop to investigation, but with greater or lesser accords and disagreements went forward, endeavouring both to extol culture and to purify faith.

It must be said for truth's sake that Christianity created a whole civilisation (art, philosophy, tradition) which, although imperfect, with great faults and gaps, yet forged a new method of life and led the human mind through paths that fortunately we men of the twentieth century are still marching on. It is true that some kind of a contradiction could be pointed out between faith and culture at certain definite moments of history and that the case of Galileo could be named as a sorrowful parenthesis in this grand harmony. But this example and many others which abound in the history of the Reformation and the Counter-reformation are not only sporadic, but are not in harmony with the Christian spirit. Those who occasion them are rather sons of fanaticism and supine ignorance; they are not and never will be the faithful paladins of the Christian faith. We must not confound the Church with the Christianity which is life; tolerance, peace and love are always above the dogma and judgment of the Church represented by fallible and imperfect men.

The dilemma of the modern world

There is a tendency at present on the part of some representatives both of ecclesiastical obscurantism, and the puffed up materialism in fashion, to show us, as they say, the antagonism which exists between religion and social life, between dogma and history, between science and revelation, between man and God. To many people science is an obstacle, and, more than an obstacle, an impediment to faith and, for others, faith is a pernicious barrier that obstructs life and sets progress back. The struggle is rapidly revealing itself. In it there is a supreme objective: to ascertain the path that will save the world. Will it be culture, or will it be Christian faith? Allow me to copy a very eloquent paragraph of Baker's, who in his brief *Initiation to Philosophy*, commenting upon Descartes, says: "Eternal life has ceased to be real. The spirit has been proscribed from our mind and conscience, cast in oblivion once more every time. So it happens, that the characteristic products of modern science are explosives and vessels. It is demonstrated by this, that science without conscience is an abomination." This is profoundly true. If Christianity were merely a philosophical creed or a theological system or a more or less attractive history of the life of Christ and the acts of His followers, its value would be small; but Christianity is something more than theoretical faith, more than an elevated idea and more than a moral code, rigid and written. Christianity "is life", and a life that infiltrates into man's own life to cause him to be reborn to a new life, creating in him a conscience, perfectly orientated for the service of humanity. Christianity will always be necessary, not so much to science as to the scientific man, to the cultured man. And if in a man's heart the Christian spirit is found, this same science will be ennobled and purified, inasmuch as Christianity deals above all with man's total salvation. Culture by itself cannot save the world. The seven wise men of Greece together could not stop the headlong collapse of their nation. Nor will all the wisdom of the whole universe without a Christian spirit ever be able to save the world. Culture needs faith, because faith not only guides, but elevates and purifies.

On the other hand, science has not resolved, nor is it able to resolve, all human problems, not even the most important ones that disturb and worry any human being of average intelligence. The world with its manifold riddles and its life, which is in fact

already highly complex, requires for their solution something more than hypotheses and statistics. Moral life cannot be cured by mathematical formulas, nor human sin be blotted out by scientific analysis. And exactly there is the stronghold of Christianity, in "practical life", personal and collective. Reason itself impels us to this affirmative idea. Epictetus, the slave, and with him all the stoical school might say: "As I am a rational creature, I shall glorify God." That is, by reason of the fact of being a man and possessing an intelligence, I cannot do less than seek a life that may be in relation to the divine nature, because that same nature manifests itself in me.

One foot in heaven

Faith as well as reason, Christianity as well as culture, are two gigantic forces. By the one man is raised in thought to God, through the other he turns himself into a lord of all creation. If one is necessary for living the higher life of the spirit, the other is essential for living a noble life in the world. Not long ago in one of the main picture-houses of Mexico was exhibited a film entitled "One Foot in Heaven", and . . . the other in the earth. I must confess that this film deeply impressed me. In it was described the life of a Christian pastor, his hopes and sacrifices, his struggles, his ideals. A life of love and service springing from a cultured and believing heart. That life is not only attractive but useful and necessary. To walk like this, with one foot on the earth and the other in heaven, is a wholesome and beneficial programme, not tying ourselves so much to the earth that heaven seems to us something very distant and probably utopian, nor soaring away up into the clouds of faith without an earthly objective, so that we overlook the fact that God has placed us in the world to live in it.

A wise man without faith is like a beautiful tree full of leaves that can at most offer shade to the traveller, and perhaps with its fruit mitigate his hunger, but no more. A man of faith, without any culture at all, or even with an aversion to culture, is like another tree, whose feeble branches are lifted to heaven in an attitude of constant prayer but which can neither give shade to the traveller, nor fruit to those who hunger for spiritual food. The model of humanity is not found among the ascetics, or amidst the investigators or philosophers, only in Christ; in Him are harmonised the knowledge of life and the certainty of belief.

The worst a Christian can do is to abominate culture, and the worst a cultured man can do is to abhor faith. "It is as foolish to believe all as not to believe at all," says Socrates, and we add: "It is as foolish to believe that we know all, as to believe that we need not know anything." And if we are to find the perfect human balance in the harmony of faith and culture, let us seek the road to becoming believers and even of culture. Aside from this, the irreducible opposition between reason and faith does not exist for many; neither can it exist. We say with Augustine: "Faith aids reason, and reason supports faith," and with Thomas Aquinas: "Reason and Faith cannot contradict each other, since reason, as well as faith, proceeds from God."

Science and faith as factors in human progress

Christianity with its own overpowering strength knew how to sweep from the world the most dreadful plagues that invaded the earth. As it passed, cruel castes, coarse idolatries, infanticides, noxious polygamies and bloody offerings tumbled down. Human personality found its place in the heart of the people influenced by Christianity. Man's worth was not achieved by the French Revolution, nor was that of reason enthroned by the Renaissance or the Encyclopædists. Christianity had long before then given to the world the Table of the Laws of man, and declared that the human spirit and man's creative power, the intelligence, were gifts from God. From the most equitable laws to the soundest traditions, all of them have either arisen, or have been transformed for good, by the ever noble fragrance of the Christian spirit. And Christianity continues to have the same force and the same power as twenty centuries ago. Christianity has no reason to fear the disdain of so-called "rationalist" science, because it is necessary for the life of man and of humanity. As long as despair flings souls upon the ground and evil overwhelms all in a horrible confusion and moral misery, man will always seek in the arms of the Christian faith the hope that comforts, the strength that saves and the virtue that exalts.

Thus let faith manifest and use its power, where the sores of humanity are evident, and not formalise it to live locked up, as in a holy ark, in the silent crypts of the temples. Let it extend its arms to a world bewailing and seeking, often without hope, for the safe way of peace, and love and good will. By so doing, and by rushing to the conquest, not of the earth, but of bitterness

and disappointments wherever found, faith will be blessed by all; or at least it will not be considered by science as something unfruitful and void of common sense, but as something essential for the realisation of a better world. And let science in turn seek the clue to the mystery of things affecting humankind. Let it bring out from the shadows of night the lights that can better show the way for men who struggle. Let it go forward on the path of victory, in the laboratory, in the lecture-room, in the shop and in the study of nature, rendering up its treasures to poor humanity which always hopes, and at times grows tired of waiting. Let science have as its only objective *man,* and it will be seen at last, that in following this road, it will meet with faith at a vital point for humanity: *in man himself,* whom it is necessary to save materially and spiritually through divine and human forces.

Could we bring home to the universities, or even better to the hearts of young students, the fact of transcendental nature, that it is quite possible to profess all theories subject to science without detriment to the Christian faith, and that the human spirit can fully unite the highest Christian beliefs with the most explicit affirmations of wisdom, we would have gained a triumph, both on behalf of the personal life of the student and of the happiness of humanity. If all scientific men, nowadays, would fight in the field of faith, and would at least pay attention to the sublime realities of Christian spirituality, and if all those that confess Christ with their lips and hearts would make every effort to control eagerly for themselves whatever novelties science scatters in the world, we are quite sure that blessing would accompany these and others, and that life, which actually is full of darkness, would give entrance to the resplendent light proceeding both from wisdom and from faith. A healthy youth of a healthy mind and spirit ought to be the purpose and goal of all those who have the noble task of giving orientation and guidance to young people who study, and to youth that believes.

The Inner Fight for Freedom*

Helen Hill Miller

What is the chief end of man?

In the shorter catechism, through which you have been making such uncertain weekly progress, you are at any rate aware that the first question reads: What is the chief end of man? You will need a better answer to that question than most of the answers that have been given in my lifetime. For our second chance cannot be accomplished by external procedures alone, by plans and projects, by memoranda and directives. The fight for freedom is an inner as well as an outer fight. Its outcome depends in part on the conditions of our military victory and the adequacy of the framework which we then establish. But its outcome also depends on our individual success or failure in the personal struggle to be free men. The human exercise of power requires a very definite idea of what a human being is like. In the absence of such an idea, the memoranda, plans, procedures of a free order will serve as ticker tape bidding bestially exercised power welcome to the city.

To get a view of man consistent with human freedom, and to hold it, you boys will have to be tough citizens.

You will have to be prepared for the fact that the world in which you will live at least part of your lives will be much worse than the between-wars world in which I came to maturity. In that world not much more than lip service was paid to the Western tradition. But today, vast areas are in the grip of forces whose view of man denies the Western tradition utterly. Their cruelty and their ferocity are so debasing millions upon millions of people that civilisation will be a long time finding its way again after the blood-letting is over. To destroy an order in which body-guarded despotism shows itself in the streets by day and fear runs by night through the alleys we must fight that order hand-to-hand. In the jungles, the deserts, the Arctic, we have

*This article is taken from a chapter of the author's recent book, *Yours for Tomorrow,* which is addressed to her two sons.

been acquiring proficiency in the quick kill, shadow-to-back, knife-in-the-jugular, fingers-in-the-eyeballs. We shall now use that proficiency in its places of origin. This is entirely necessary. But we shall have continents corroded by hatred and disease and famine and memory, afterwards. If you look back to the years after our Civil War, to the years after the Napoleonic era, to the years after the religious struggle of the sixteenth century, you can count the time required for the licking of wounds before it was possible to get up and get on with the future. Do you remember the Chinese proverb that T. Z. Koo told us: "If two tigers fight, both will be badly wounded?" You will have to be tough enough to take a world like that and live in it without bitterness and without evasion.

An answer sought for twenty-five years

My generation took the world of its youth with bitterness and evasion, both. Bitterness was the stock-in-trade of the debunkers. For all men except those who were self-avowedly self-seeking they had the single epithet: "Hypocrite." They were economic determinists, American style; their conclusion about life could be summarised: "Root, hog, or die; root faster than the next guy, and die rich." Many of those who accepted this whole-hog definition of man found totalitarian government easy to understand.

The debunker's denial that there was any moral basis for economic action was beguiling as a contrast to the hypocrisy that was our alternative treatment of public life. The pap on politics fed out through our public schools was a sample. The public school teacher is on a spot in this matter. She has an obligation to keep the schools out of politics. But it has prevented her from transmitting to our future citizens any view that might be regarded as a judgment on government as conducted in our time —any view, that is, except one of rosy acceptance. Consequently, future citizens have been treated to insipid descriptions of the political process as one in which good men with good intentions pass, operate under, and judge according to good laws for the general welfare of all people—and now, children, we will rise and sing the "Star Spangled Banner." (You boys, with your father in the state legislature for two terms and me in a federal administrative agency during the 1930's have had other sources of information. You can give names, places, dates to political

skullduggery; you can give names, places, dates to political morality—and at one time or another, in this very human world, most of the names appear in both categories. You know that the process of government is a tough job of relating self-interests and the general interest—far from being natural opposites the two are inseparably intertwined. And you know that those who are so pure that they stay above the battle are in fact a main resource of the machine—their default reduces the electorate to manageable numbers.)

The chief reason, perhaps, why my generation has accepted either a hypocritical fairy tale or a shallow wisecrack as a definition of the mainspring of man's action is because we were not very interested in man. We have been far more occupied with matter.

President Conant tells of the surprise of members of the Harvard faculty who once selected "Man is the measure of all things" for the inscription over the doorway of a new building only to return from vacation to find that their then president had substituted "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" During the years between wars we inclined so strongly to the former sentiment, that man, rather even than being the measure of all things, became merely their measurer. For our answer to the question, what is the chief end of man, we looked to research.

The Scientist's Answer

The scientists said, "Knowledge of my particular specialty is the chief end of man" and the world of the intellect became criss-crossed by the narrow gauges of the single-track mind. The industrialists and their satellites who put the researchers' findings into merchandisable shape said, "Bigger and better business is the chief end of man"—and when their business wasn't bigger and better, they jumped or fell with the graph of the stock market. The Joneses said, "Possession is the chief end of man" —and turned into button pushers, dial turners, gadget operators.

In the early thirties a group of New York intelligentsia, planners, technicians, writers for radical journals, asked Henry Wallace to spend an evening with them. They were interested primarily in the work he did some years ago in the scientific development of hybrid corn. They had a lot of technical questions they wanted to ask him. Finally one of them said, "Mr. Wallace, if you had to pick the quality which you thought most

important for a man to have in plant-breeding work, what would it be?" The answer startled them: "Sympathy for the plant." In their scientific world of quantitative analysis they had long regarded the objects of their experiments solely as things, as just so much inert matter to be dealt with. The idea that there could be unrealised capacities in plant life, and that sensitivity to these capacities could aid in the selective production of a better plant, was so foreign to their way of thought as to leave them dazed, embarrassed, groping for some way to get the conversation started again.

The insensitivity to the qualitative side of life that has accompanied our absorption with matter has several sources. With the exceptions that are too rare, the ministry since the religious revolution has little by little attracted the less able men of a given time; this has widened the gap between the scientific and the faithful. The body of ideas transmitted by the various Christian sects contains statements which the scientific generation does not believe to be true. There has been little facing of the discrepancies: the faithful have taken refuge in the letter and the scientific have shrugged and said, "I wouldn't know." The Church's record as a secular institution in the world of property in our time is not a good record—the Catholic alliance with feudalism and Protestant alliance with capitalism have been marked by too many purchases of matter with the things of the spirit. The churches in a spiritual sense have a very shadowy existence; the word signifies a building or a hierarchy or a board ten times for every once that it signifies a community of the faithful.

But our uncertainty as to the spiritual end of man is mainly due to our own private ignorance.

Not too long before Hitler came to power, I had a talk with a Dutch theologian for whose religious intelligence I have a profound respect. He was discussing the then-vaguer objectives of National Socialism. "It may well be the bridge for which we are looking to span the gulf between left and right," he said, "seeking as it does to combine the qualities that have made for greatness in the nation-state with the increasing demand for a distributive society."

I looked at him firmly: "If I made a theological statement as naïve as that," I commented, "how you would roar."

"You have certainly given me enough occasions to do so," came the quick answer.

And for a fact I had. We of the scientific generation recoil from medieval notions on such topics as medicine or mechanics. But for crude superficiality, our ideas of sin, conversion and heaven are certainly a match for them.

A Moral basis for Society essential

Uncomfortable though we may be when we first come to talk about it, we cannot permanently dodge the necessity of having a moral basis for our society. People, youngsters like you growing up, are not going to serve a society that has no reply to their questions as to its purpose except "so what?" When we see the Nazis and the Japanese treating men as things without a split-second's hesitation, we know that it's not right. But we falter a good deal, when we try to say why, because the difference between right and wrong, good and bad, cannot be made clear without discussing values, and values are something we are not accustomed to talk about.

We have carried tolerance to fantastic lengths these last years. We have assured each other that to run a society like ours men must not make judgments; they must live and let live.

There is a place for tolerance in our society. But there is an equally important place for intolerance. Only under certain narrow conditions is tolerance possible: only if the citizens who form the tolerant society believe that all the members are potential contributors to its governance, and only if the members do not abuse their privileges to the detriment of the framework which makes those privileges possible. Intolerance of those who question the desirability of that framework—intolerance, that is, of those who doubt the correctness of the view of man whose expression the framework permits—is indispensable to the continuance of a tolerant society.

The line at which a live-and-let-live attitude must stop was clearly enough seen by the men who inaugurated tolerance in the United States in Article 14 of the Virginia Declaration of Rights:

> That religion, or the duty which we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reasons and conviction, not by force or violence: and, therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished

and unrestrained by the magistrate, unless, under colour of religion, any man disturb the peace, the happiness, or the safety of society.

But in our own time, we have been very much less clear about this limit. Domestically, we have seen representatives of totalitarian forces, both foreign and homegrown, claiming the protection of our Bill of Rights while disbelieving utterly that men are entitled to that kind of protection. And we have appeased their claims with muddleheaded squeamishness.

We have been shocked at the idea of enforcing a way of life abroad until faced with a mortal threat when what we thought was none of our business became Nazi agenda; we wholeheartedly endorsed tolerance in the form of unlimited national sovereignty; it sounded fine: we run our government the way we like to and you can run yours. But it didn't listen so well when all-Aryan supermen began their march into thirteen countries, saying "Today we own Europe, tomorrow the whole world." Now we begin to realise that only in an organised framework entirely intolerant of certain kinds of behaviour will a tolerance based on mutually respected rights be possible. We who have shrunk from discipline begin to see its necessity.

There is pathos in the American phrase: "Now *there's* somebody who is a *real person.*" It intimates that while we have a hundred and thirty million people in our country, the number of real persons among them is small enough to be remarkable. A real person is some one who has a sense of values on which he is quietly prepared to take a stand, some one whose decisions are made within, not accepted from without. Such men understand freedom. Their activities are the growing points of our society, the additions to the tree of liberty which provide its branches of tomorrow. If growing points are not formed, the tree stunts and eventually falls.

Discipline needed for membership of Society

It is to live a precarious life at the growing points of our society that you and the millions of other children of today must be readied, trained, disciplined. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the people of the Western World, your people, cared enough about the issue of the religious revolution to fight for it, and had enough discipline and skill in the organisation of society

to make room for freedom of religion when the fight was over. In the eighteenth century, the people of the Western World, your people, cared enough about the issue of the political revolution to fight for it, and had enough discipline and skill in the organisation of society to make room for political freedom when that fight was over.

The issue of our time is to make room for the economic revolution as part of our society. In meeting this issue you cannot rely solely on the revolutionary tradition to which you are heirs—the people who try to live as posthumous housekeepers of the founding fathers are well on their way to being fired. You will have to make you own way forward.

How can we train you for this future? The paradox, revolutionary maintenance of a tradition, has a parallel in the two qualities I would most like to transmit, a sense of self-reliance and a sense of interdependence.

You can get the beginnings of both here on our farm. In the fields, the orchard, the garden, you have learned that nature is a very independent ally. You have lived through the cycle of drought and downpour; in 1941 the ponds turned green and shrank and crackled and you saw us truck water to the insatiable cattle; in 1942 when gullywasher succeeded gullywasher you watched weeds take your garden, knowing that you would make brick out of our red clay soil if you walked on it when it was wet, yet estimating the hours required to root out full grown ragweed left until the wet spell was finally over.

Through your share in the farming, you can grasp the interdependence of the things that you do and the world economy. You boys have a chance to learn these things about the economic process because we have chosen to live on a farm, where life and livelihood are not separated by the distance between flat and factory, house and office, that subdivides city life.

But what you learn through our farm operations concerns chiefly your relations with things—and with animals, you would be quick to add. Even more, you need to learn something about the paradox of self-reliance and interdependence in relation to people.

The service man who fixes little gadgets is not the only service man people have been yelling for these last years. Too many people have also yelled for a social service man—a man who would make the trains run on time. Huey Long was a super

service man. Every man a king; with a kingfish sitting on an overstuffed ballot box directing lots of service men to make the trains run on time. Huey's regime combined all of the more widespread American definitions of service: the One-Stop-Service of the American filling station which encourages the customer to sit fatly behind the wheel while one attendant puts in the gas, another tests the oil, a third sprays pale blue liquid to clear the windshield; the filling station's cultural equivalent, Service Clubs singing "Sweet Adeline"; and off-stage action by private guards like those who used to be known as service men at Ford's. But it is open to doubt as to whether that sort of service is perfect freedom.

If you are to be among the makers of tomorrow's revolution, you must know what is wrong with that kind of a service man. You can learn this, here; you can prepare yourselves for the combination of rights-and-duties which is perfect freedom in the political and economic sense, and acquire the view of man which is the spiritual background of freedom, here, because we are a family and this is our home.

Particularly during the 1920's, but all through my lifetime, lots of American families haven't had a home. They have had an address, where they, as individuals, have kept their things, and from which they have scattered to their various interests.

But family life does not have to be like that. Family life can include a deep, dangerous and long maturing love of a man and a woman in which the paradox of self-reliance and interdependence is most fully resolved, human dignity most fully apprehended; as yet, you are probably conscious of this only through a sustaining sense of quiet and security. A family can be a community in which people develop, exercise and enjoy qualities that will make them good citizens of the larger communities of which they are also members. As listeners and minor participants in the talk that goes round our table, you are beginning to enter the parry and thrust of discussion, learning to hold your own defending a point, learning to weigh what is told you, learning to admit error and misstatement, and to agree when some one else has set out a sounder view. This common experience can make our life a vehicle of justice, and understood in this intimate context, rights and duties become very human institutions. Based on early familiarity with justice in relation to anger, justice in relation to

wit, justice in relation to charm, your idea of justice in the broad world will be no inhumanly black-and-white Puritan view.

You will recognise, in justice, the order that makes freedom possible; and you will know that the reason why that order is never perfect is adequately explained in the Spanish proverb, "All men are as God made them, and sometimes worse."

Just because they—that is to say, you—are sometimes worse, you will never win your fight for freedom completely. But only because you have an idea of what a free man might be, can you have an object, a reason for taking part in the coming revolution. (Otherwise—do you remember the *Jungle Book* scene of Kaa's hunting, where bands of monkeys posture and strut and finger the things of the Lost City?)

When the time comes, what will your part be, I wonder. Will you live your lives on the forward edge of our tradition? Will you find the disturbing, radical new words that describe the world as it will be to the world as it is? Or will yours be the reactionary decisions that kill a tradition by holding tight to its past, by keeping it from moving until the time to move has run out? Will you exercise the power to govern, or will you fail, wilfully or placidly, to act until some one has taken the power to act away? My own time is evidence that in the tree of liberty, growth comes by fits and starts, through good seasons and bad seasons.

The liberties that are your heritage have been won, little by little, on the spot, in particular cases, by people who faced situations wholly comparable, in their time, to those that you will face in yours. Their human hands upheld the future. Our society has no other support.

Truth and Science in the University

Henri Hatzfeld

The liberal university (and though I speak of France I believe the same holds true of Switzerland) is bound up with an idea of truth which is the strangest, the most ambiguous and the most hopeless conceivable. Truth in the modern university is the infinite sum of all possible knowledge, it is a sort of addition whose total can never be added up and to which every thinker, every inventor and every explorer adds a new term. What is truth but a mystery which we try to clear up progressively, and whose confines continually recede with our progress? In order to know the truth, we must know a great many things, always more and more of them, although we understand perfectly well that, for all the effort we may make, we shall never manage to do away with the essential mystery that surrounds our consciousness.

Every new discovery disturbs the order which for better or worse man has succeeded in establishing in all his acquired knowledge, so that in the end he gives up conceiving a coherent idea of the order, of the cohesion of truth, or, more simply, of the world in which he lives. Every system is provisional; indeed a system at any one moment in human research is merely a way of arranging and expressing results temporarily acquired. Great theories, when they are more than experimental hypotheses, are never more than temporary means of expression, or systems of reference; the means by which today the mind expresses its tentative idea of order for objects which in themselves are no more than lifeless anarchy. So truth is in subjection to a universal relativism. Perhaps man has never yet been plunged into such doubt about the reality and the order of the world he lives in, has never had so incoherent an idea of truth. Modern man has no longer a conception of the world, or rather he has many contradictory and mutually destructive conceptions which leave him in the end a prey to a fundamental scepticism.

Further, since truth is an indefinite Unknown, man does not know his own place in the universe, nor yet how to set his own existence in relation to his research; in fact he makes a clear dis-

tinction between the two domains of private life—his own and that of other men—and his professional life. In the brief span of his life man loses the hope of doing more than explore a tiny part of this boundless domain, and by that act he gives up the attempt to know himself and to determine his own place in his field of research. He specialises, and turning his back on part of the world and on himself, he plunges into the undergrowth, thus deliberately losing touch with the world, with himself and with other seekers. The prevalent conception of truth is the cause of the disintegration of the university community and the human community. The seekers have no message for one another, they have nothing to say to the world, nor yet to themselves.

Truth or Veracity

In the end, man, feeling his impotence to define the concept of truth, falls back upon himself and defines the conditions of veracity. Since it is impossible to tell what truth is, he will rather define objective research. He will no longer concern himself with the truth of the object in itself, but only with the way in which the thinking subject may proceed. So he puts his trust in an infallible method, of which the Cartesian rules are the best example. His task is to escape from the subjectivity of the thinking subject. That will be declared true which is established by methods which leave no room for the particular personality of the researcher. He must abstract himself, he must be no more than an ideal observer.

There is no question here of leading an attack on a method which has given proofs of its value, but only of pointing out the illusion which has come about on this subject. Actually modern science bases all its dignity on its reliance on its methods. In the hope of escaping from subjectivity, of becoming 100% scientific, science tends to be no more than an intellectual monomania. It is afraid of not being methodical enough, or objective enough, and it takes refuge in disciplines which are as little suspect as possible, and so become pure technicalities. (We need only mention epigraphy or statistics.)

In this way modern science appears as sceptical about its ultimate ends as it is positive about its method. It knows nothing of the truth, it has no belief about it, and will not speak of it; but nobody can teach it anything about method.

Now we do not claim to have anything to say on method, only to remind the university that science cannot be defined in terms which are purely methodological. A science which on principle abandons the definition of its essential object, namely truth, is a science which has no longer the sense of its own *raison d'être,* which indeed is losing its soul.

Science and metaphysics

But then, you may say, we fall into metaphysics; for then science becomes tributary to a conception of truth which will thenceforward dominate it. We are aware of that danger. The modern university has had a thousand good reasons to look askance at metaphysics, and to refuse to allow any kind of metaphysics to lay its hand on science. It was right in desiring the liberation of science! But by concentrating too much on defining the conditions of this liberty, it actually imposed a new bondage, and a bondage which is very galling for the spirit. We must recognise that the rejection of all metaphysics is no less sterilising for science than the submission to the extravagances of philosophers and theologians. The predominance of metaphysics prevented science from advancing, but its absence prevents science from knowing its reasons for advance; so in spite of the method on which science prides itself, it advances in haphazard fashion, without knowing where it is going.

What can reconcile science and metaphysics? What conception of truth will be strong and rich enough to unify science and metaphysics, truth in research and truth in concept? On this question hangs the fate of the university.

The Christian conception of truth

The Apostle Paul writes in the Epistle to the Colossians: "It pleased the Father . . . having made peace through the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself . . . whether they be things in earth or things in heaven." We believe that in Christ all things are reconciled, including what we have called science and what we have called metaphysics. In other words we believe that only the Christian conception of truth is capable of uniting the two antinomian terms which we distinguished above.

But we must be precise in our use of terms. What do we mean by the Christian conception of truth?

Christ as the truth

Our misfortune as Christian students is that we have one conception of truth in our studies which has no connection with our religious conception of truth. There is a schism here in our life. But if truth for us is Christ, it is important that we should ask ourselves whether this faith has no consequences in the epistemological sphere. When Jesus says: "I am the truth", is He only speaking of religious truth? and are there other truths which have no relation to that truth? Or is there only one truth—the Christ, Jesus, the Word—which contains scientific truth as well? That is what we believe. Truth is Christ, that is to say, all things are ordained according to an order which is no less than the word of God. The unfathomable mystery which is truth is not final, it has not the last word; the world has really an objective order which does not depend upon our discoveries, our hypotheses or our means of expression. All theories aim at discovering this order. They prove mainly that before all scientific thought there is an existent, a preëxistent order. The uncertainty of the scholar in the face of what he does not yet know must not prevent him from recognising that what he does not know has already an order of its own, and that it is a divine order which will be revealed to him on the last day. And yet the mystery remains. But it is a mystery which has no other dimension than the separation which still exists between man and God. It depends on God to dispel the mystery; and hereafter science is a prophetic witness to that decisive light which will illumine all things on the last day.

For the moment it would be foolish to ignore the mystery. It is not possible to ascend naturally from phenomena to the *logos* which organised the world. This simple ascent from the world to the soul of the world by means of a universal dialectic in which the platonists and some people in the Middle Ages believed, is impossible. The world does not spontaneously reveal its spiritual order unbidden to the mind of man; faith alone can reveal it. And on this is built all the dignity of science, all its independence of metaphysic, since we admit that faith alone can believe in the spiritual order of the world, we must also admit that if man does not wish to act as an angel—which is as a beast—he must learn that his one way of understanding something of this world whose order faith reveals to him, is to work with his own methods, and his test tubes, and with all

possible application and seriousness. As we happen to be set here on earth, and as there is no heavenly ladder by which the earthly dialectician can reach the world of ideas, positive science, with all the labour it brings, all its self-distrust and poverty, is our only means of knowing here and now. The day will come when learning the multiplication table will no longer be necessary; but for the moment there is no knowledge save for those who learn it. All the ideologies in the world cannot change this.

But the word has become incarnate. We know the word because it is incarnate and by that alone. If it is vain to try, as the Gnostics did, to find by some means or other the *logos* in its transcendence, it is no less certain that the *logos* has come among us and is in that measure accessible to us. But that means it is indeed accessible; it is the same eternal word of God who is also this Jesus in His humiliation. They are not two separate things. The mystery of the incarnation is precisely that it is one and the same reality. He by Whom and in Whom "all things were created" and by Whom "all things consist", was made like us. He Who is shown us in the eighth chapter of the book of Proverbs working with God to order the universe, to arrange the heavens, give bounds to the sea, to lay the foundations of the earth, was made like us, a man among men, truly our brother, the son of man. This is what we see when the Gospel shows us Jesus Christ commanding the wind and the waves in the tempest on the lake: "Who is this," they asked, "that even the winds and the waves obey Him?"

Called to share in Christian truth

But even the coming of the *logos* among us would mean very little if He were not now calling us to share in Him, to live not in His way but *in* Him, not just like Him, but His very life. Such is the greatness of our calling as students. What is real in our lives is what we cannot see, but only believe; it is His life, His reality. We share with Him: all the treasures of wisdom and science which are hidden in Him, we are called to share and to consider as our treasures (Colossians 2: 3). It is clear that this total sharing in all the treasures of wisdom and science can only be given us in absolute fulness on the last day. It is then only that we shall see face to face, but from today onwards all that we do in order to know is a witness we make to ourselves and to

others that hereafter "we shall know as we have been known"; and that from today we have a share in that knowledge.

All human knowledge or science is in this sense the premise of what we shall know on the last day. So there can be no opposition between science and faith. And yet we cannot deny that for certain individuals and for certain periods there has been a conflict between science and faith. But such conflict can always be simply explained by the fact that science has tried to usurp the place of faith or vice versa. Science has wished to determine the last things which are of the domain of faith, or faith has wished to be what she is not, a scientific method. In the one case science has been too proud, and in the latter faith has been foolish. In these cases science and faith were neither of them in their proper place, they had lost their identity. But if science and faith can only remain what they ought to be, if they recognise that they are both surrounded by the mystery of God, which is Christ, they need not in their humility, fear each other. For they are from now onward reconciled in Christ.

Man as the source and end of knowledge

The second consequence of this is that we are called to participate in Christ with Him Who at the same time knows all things, and in Whom all things consist. There are these two elements in Christ; it is He Who speaks the truth, but He is also Himself all truth. He is both He Who knows and He in Whom are found all the treasures of knowledge. And again, our participation in Christ will only be made complete on the last day; but from now onwards our entire human condition, our vocation as students is illuminated by this twofold relation which unites Christ and truth. If we participate in Christ as students we also know that we maintain with truth this twofold relation. We recognise that in this world we are those who know, and also the central object of this knowledge; we are those who work at all scientific knowledge, and also the central object of all science; we are the source of all knowledge, and also the end of all knowledge on this earth. It is in this sense that we can take once again to ourselves the formula of ancient philosophy, "Man is the measure of all things." We do not mean to take it to ourselves in order that man may glorify himself. We can do so only because of Christ and because, after all, it is Christ Who is the measure of all things; but since He is the measure of all things, we who are

called to be in Him, become gradually more and more fully the measure of all things also.

Thus a coherent Christology modifies entirely the creative relationship between man and the world. Christ for us is the last Adam; that is to say, the one who inaugurates for us in His flesh a new form of humanity. It is this new form of humanity which henceforward gives direction, gives *intention* to the humanity which we still wear. There is nothing human which is not henceforth renewed by this new humanity. That is the important thing to notice here with regard to the problem of knowledge. Knowledge (and here we are speaking of scientific as well as of general knowledge) can no longer be defined as a pure and simple apprehension of reality by the mind which is as far as possible disindividualised and dehumanised. Just as Christ is both He Who speaks the truth and He Who is the truth, man must be one who in his effort to understand the world, does no more than reveal his own identity to himself. Knowledge for man is not merely knowledge of an object, but a discovery within that knowledge of the fundamental nature of man. By his knowledge man discovers not only the world, but himself as its king in Christ. Science is in the last analysis the self-revelation of man to himself, in so far as he is set down in Christ as lord of the created world.

Christianity, or rather the renewal of all things in Christ, involves a total conversion of epistemology no less than of ethics. Man discovers within his faith that he is not only a mind that knows, but that the knowledge of the world is for him an occasion of self-revelation in his essential relationship of sovereignty to the world. Intellectual work is a prophecy by which man proclaims his place in the world to be the first place. Science is already "the revealing of the sons of God" for which "the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth". By proclaiming the order of the world science is a response to God Who created that order; and when he makes that response man finds himself again in his true place, before God, the place of one who is responsible, who answers for the rest of creation, and who is also responsible for it.

The folly of a science without man

Science began by being anthropomorphic. It found its freedom when it escaped from the old theologies (and Christian theology in particular) to become rational, experimental and

objective. But the time has now come to remind science that it must also be anthropocentric in just the degree in which it is—whether it will or no, and whether it realises it or no—Christocentric. But here we must be clear about the terms we are using. We repeat that we have no fault to find with scientific methods. But we must reaffirm that a science which systematically excludes man is as far from true science as a science which merely aims at flattering or serving human passions. Now, modern science as it is practised within the university excludes man because it desires no more knowledge of him than its method allows, and that is but the surroundings, the suburbs of the subject. It refuses to try to make its way farther in for fear of injuring its objectivity. But this refusal is not the result of modesty; it is simply a betrayal.

It is further curious to notice that for some years scientific thought has been tending towards a recognition of the illusion it cherished when it pretended to an exclusive objectivity. The philosophy of history and the philosophy of science here make a converging movement. The idol of scientific objectivity is threatened by the *savants* themselves. The crisis of relativity in modern physics, no less than the development of the phenomenology of history, converge at this point; it is folly to wish to build up a science without man. It is not too late for Christians to explain the profound reason for this evolution in scientific thought.

Before examining the consequences of such reflections, let us first think of their spiritual significance. The great drama of our day may be described as the consequence of the divorce that has taken place between the spiritual and temporal worlds, between the world of ideas and the world of technology, between the religious life and ordinary life in which man is in close conflict with the economics and the bondage of all human institutions. Civilisation is at bottom nothing but a means of expression; it expresses the fashion in which man has thought he could understand and control his destiny. For if man could control his destiny he could also solve the fundamental antinomies of his existence. He could there bring together what he found apart, unite what he found in opposition; he could make a coherent whole of the contradiction which is his life. Man is in search of the lost principle of his own unity. But however he may solve the problem, the moment comes when the antinomies he thought he had mastered become too strong, regain their supremacy, and

shatter the frail structure of unity he had devised—often at what cost! Civilisations crumble when the power which unified contraries yields to their pressure.

Christ as the lord of science

If we seek a principle of reconciliation, a keystone of the arch, a corner-stone, which makes possible the harmonious fitting together of these two worlds, a junction and a union of the two regions, temporal and spiritual, we must also realise that we must not accept any solution that offers. Marxist materialism is another way of solving the problem, and we cannot accept it. Nor do we accept the Thomist solution, the analogy of being and of sanctifying grace which tends to conceal the real problem, to minimise man's sinfulness, and make him forget his radical corruption. The true solution is to be found in a truly coherent conception of the reality of our life in Christ—or rather in Christ Himself. It is in Him we have been created, in Him we are saved. He is the perfect stature of our humanity. Nothing that is human has any meaning except when it is confronted with Him.

Do we believe this? Do we believe that it is possible to confront science with Jesus Christ of Whom the Apostle Paul said: He is the mystery "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge". Do we believe that Christ is the lord of science? Do we believe that when He says of Himself "I am the truth" it means the whole of truth, both scientific and religious; or do we believe that there are two kinds of truth, and that we are doomed never to understand the bond that unites them? In one word, do we believe that God desired "by Him to reconcile all things unto himself", or have these words no meaning for us?

It is one of the weaknesses of reformed thought that it has set reason and faith in such violent opposition. It is not necessary to reconcile them as the Catholics want to do, but only to know that they are reconciled in Christ, as one group in the Middle Ages knew. *Fides quaerens intellectum.* At the heart of that faith which defines subjectively the dimensions of being "in Christ" as man is called to do hereafter, reason also has her place. Reason too serves the Master once she is converted. Every human life become a liturgy, a service of the Lord. And at the same time every act becomes a sacrament because it mani-

fests an action of God, because it simply renews an act of Christ. So man becomes again the image of God. And scientific study surrenders science and knowledge to God since God in Christ has already taken possession of them.

But how then, it may be asked, does one study mathematics, for example, as a Christian? Perhaps it is thought that the science of mathematics will become something quasi-religious; that by his equations the mathematician will draw as near to God as in prayer; that the scientist will discover a new way of working, a new scientific state of soul which is closer to prayer. . . . That is not the point at all. If science is subject to Christ, and if science depends on His royal command, that subjection and dependence will be not visible but believed. We walk by faith and not by sight. And just because we walk by faith alone we must never cease to witness to what we believe and to what men are still unable to see. Further, we must remember that in a kingdom there are not only capitals and prime ministers. The humblest mercenary also serves the king. If science is a service of Christ it is so not in the same way nor by the same right as preaching, for example. We do not intend to make of science some kind of pseudo-religious activity. Christ is Lord not only of the Church but also of the whole world. Science also is in His kingdom. It is important to leave it in the place which God has given it. We must not try to make God enter artificially into science in order to lend science a heightened dignity, or to make it more "Christian". God will not enter there by our orders, we may be sure; instead there will enter a false god whom we dare not call Christ and who will ruin science. Science is Christian only when it is truly science. But the scientific vocation is perhaps to be found in the joy which this calling brings, in spite of the hard work, and in the fulness we find there. For the mercenary can be as happy as the volunteer if he is conscious of being in his right place, and at his right task. The scientific vocation first recognises the bond which unites it to Christ. The humility of his function does not oppress him. The student who feels that his study keeps him far from Christ should ask himself if he has missed his way, if he is not called to some other place. But it is not science which has to be changed, it is himself. But may those who are called to be men of science learn with joy the true place assigned by God to their labour; may they not envy those whose

work is different; nor seek to modify their own work by pious artifices but rather do their duty unsparingly, humbly and gratefully.

Summary and conclusion

To sum up, and before we attempt to set out some of the practical consequences of what has been said:

a) There are not two different truths. Truth, of which science is the study, is comprehended in Christ; indeed, it *is* Christ in so far as He is the *logos* that was before the world.

b) In Christ knowledge is more than the apprehension of data by the mind: it is, in essence, the orientation of man with reference to the world and to God Who created him. Man discovers that he is himself the image and representative of God in the world, and is responsible for the world to God.

c) Man is at the centre of science both as one who knows and as the essence of what is to be known.

d) Scientific work is in its own place and according to God's will a service done to God and a sign for men of the perfect wisdom of God.

From these brief remarks we may draw certain conclusions concerning university life.

Erudition and real problems

In the first place it is impossible to consider science as a reality superior to man, which man might attain by a process of dehumanising himself. Man is lord of science: "All are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's" (I Corinthians 3: 23). Man must not be subject to science or to scientific method; on the contrary they must be subject to him. They are at his service to help him to find himself and to affirm his existence. For it is man that matters.

In consequence of this the exclusive concern with objectivity will not appear as the one criterion of true science. Understanding and judgment will be as important as learning. The modern conception of scientific impartiality is no truer than the idea of a science which seeks to provide slogans for the ideologies that face us. In France there are two kinds of historians. On the one hand the men of erudition who are conscientious and for

the most part unreadable; on the other hand charlatans who have sprung from the different political camps. A science which is indeed faithful will make an effort to reduce this antinomy from day to day. It will not expect ever to do it perfectly; but, while knowing that scientific study must be done sincerely and rigorously, it will also not forget that historical sincerity and rigour are but dust unless they serve the ends of history, which are to unfold to man his past in order to open his eyes to the future. Science must not forget that it is in the service of man. The means and methods which it uses cannot justify it; it can only be justified by its faithfulness to its function.

On the other hand the university will need to distrust erudition; for erudition is no longer admissible as the final word of all science. It has no justification unless it gives the student an opportunity to study the human questions which arise. But if it develops as an end in itself, without relation to a real problem, erudition becomes a dangerous mania. We have already suffered enough from that. We have suffered enough from the method of erudition which is even now the method of secondary education. It involves an *à priori* division of subjects, and a classification of material which goes on getting steadily more complicated, adding as it were compartment to compartment, so that the mind is no longer free. The important point is that man should ask his own questions. If, in order to answer them, he has to undertake such and such a piece of technical research, no one would refuse that. The important matter is that man should be free to ask questions and to develop his interrogations, instead of being a machine which swallows knowledge in doses carefully classified and labelled from the university pharmacy. One cannot but feel sympathy for the dismay of the young student of philosophy who expects to find an important truth for his whole life, and who, in the end, only discovers a series of arid and distinct disciplines from which he is invited to draw a few items of knowledge. The same thing is true throughout the university curriculum, in the faculty of theology as elsewhere. Let us cease to consider theological faculties as models of Christian faculties. (I apologise to my professors!) But do they suppose that we are content with this imprisonment inside faculties which are fixed once for all, without regard for the problems of the hour or for the questions which arise in one's mind? For there are current theological problems, current ecclesiastical problems, and there is a question

which at this moment the world is asking of the Church. Have we really tried to work these out together, or have we fortified ourselves inside our disciplines "in view of the examinations" . . .?

The creation of a university community

With the same breath we approach the problem of the university community. For it is vain to wish to create a community under present conditions. Erudition can only separate men. Only a human, or rather living, question can unite them. What do we mean by that? We mean that every epoch has its one appropriate method (or several methods) of approaching and attacking the reality of the world. We have to work like a man who is trying to prise out a rock, first attacking it with his pick, and then with an iron bar in front, behind and from the sides. For some time the living question was that of universals, and to go any further the human mind had to force its way through that passage. The quarrel between the ancients and the moderns was at one time a living question, and so was the opposition between science and faith. If we raise these questions again today then we are guilty of erudition, of waiting to embalm the dead while the living are waiting to live. Yet that is what the university spends its time doing with an infallible sureness of instinct for shutting its eyes to living questions. (Let us only mention the example of the university of France on the subject of phenomenology, for instance.) In this respect the natural sciences—*non sine causa*—are more fortunate than the human sciences. One can hardly imagine them reopening today the question of spontaneous generation.

When we speak of living questions we do not yield to any romantic fancies. We only say that the university's duty is in the first place to set forth the questions round which a generation of students naturally gathers, as in a place where it can best orientate its thinking and understand itself. This is how students recognise which are the good teachers; by the wisdom with which they bring out such questions with them and for them, and leave the dead ones to lie until a later day. Sometimes of course they need to be revived, *sometimes* at the right moment some past period must be evoked, or some man who has been asleep for ages called to the light. Racine may need to be left to sleep in peace, and Corneille called forth to the light (or—if you would rather—the author of *Les Châtiments* may need to be resurrected!).

About these questions, and in freedom of thought, the university community may indeed be recreated. With a single stroke it will reappear. We need not yield to the fashion of the day or to the enthusiasm of the hour; for while fashion *may* be the surface expression of a living question, it may also prevent its being heard. No: we have to learn what really counts today. That is what will unite teachers and students; and to create a university community in any other way is vain indeed. Why should a community exist in the very place one must avoid if one wants to think freely?

We are considering man, real man, man who is alive today—not "the man of all times and all countries" whom French classical theory conceived and to whom our university remained faithful. To be sure the university pretends to be humanist. It is in the name of humanism that in the French secondary schools six hours of Latin and six of Greek have persisted as against one of modern languages, thus making a Frenchman incapable of understanding anything about the world of his own generation, but able to quote in his old age some fragments of the Odes of Horace. For very shame we abstain from citing further examples.

Sufficient to say that today university curricula seem hardly likely to correspond any more closely to the problems which face modern man than did those worked out by mediaeval scholasticism. Man must be taken where he is in the actual tissue of his life. He must be the object of our study, and the end of our work. In these conditions alone can the university participate in the evolution of a true humanism instead of weaving garlands for the dead whom she would not acknowledge if they lived today. Then indeed the university may be a place where the community from which it sprang (generally the nation) can arrive at self-realisation. It will no longer be, in the modern Babel, a closed chamber for intellectual technicians, but a centre where the thought of a society is forged. It will no longer be content to train technicians; it will rediscover its responsibility for the training of an *élite,* it will realise that its own fate is bound up with that of the national and international community in which it is set. It will become conscious of itself as guardian of the spiritual values of the country. In a word the university will once more find its roots.

Three Watchwords

We shall conclude with three watchwords.

First of all, we must keep our idea in the back of our minds. We must not allow ourselves to be carried away by the mechanics of intellectual techniques in which we are asked to take part, but always be sure of the direction in which the research is carrying us: Is it only to collect information or is it to find the answer to some question? It is the aim of our studies far more than their method which gives them their direction.

Secondly, we must take corporate questions seriously, not be content to pass through the university but also take part in its life, revive its life. Not leave the professors without criticism, or remain passive under the instruction we receive. The apathy of students, their indifference to all possible reform, their incapacity to think out the problems of their student-life, is one of the causes of the disintegration of the university. What have *you* done to change this?

Finally, we must reflect on the place which the S.C.M. may take in this matter. You have an S.C.M. magazine? What does it deal with? With theology as the most captivating of intellectual pursuits or with university questions as is its duty? What are you doing in study groups? What contacts have you with your fellows? And if you are really prevented from working freely in the university setting, why do you not organise cells of work outside the curriculum where you may develop the questions which come up in your studies?

It is pointless to talk of the decadence or the renewal of the university if that is to be the end of the story. It is for the students to prove what they are capable of doing.

The Educational Aims of the Christian Colleges in China

A statement drafted in the U.S.A. by Dr. T. H. Greene of Princeton after a group discussion and adopted by the Planning Committee of the Associated Boards for the Christian Colleges in China. It is still a tentative document, since there has not been time to receive criticisms from the Colleges in China.

1. The Christian Colleges in China have a distinguished pioneering record. They were founded as *Christian* schools and colleges, primarily to teach the Gospel and to train leaders for the Christian movement in China. The large number of Christian men and women in positions of great responsibility in China today testifies to the success of this movement, and the colleges have contributed greatly to this success. The outstanding leadership of Christians from China in the life of the world Church is further testimony. The colleges were also founded to help China develop a system of *liberal education,* on the one hand, and *professional training,* on the other, and in these respects too they have been eminently successful. Their chief educational contribution has been their continuing concern for the student's total personality—for his body, his mind, and his character. This concern has commended itself to all Chinese who recognize that this ideal is fully in line with the traditional emphasis in Chinese education upon the importance of character as the goal of learning. From the outset, therefore, the colleges have sought to *serve China* as *Christian* institutions of *learning.*

2. After six years of agonising war, China's urgent needs provide the Christian Colleges today with a new and challenging opportunity for service. Her economic and industrial requirements are desperately urgent for the comprehensive programme of rebuilding China after the war. Her continuing effort, since 1912, to develop and strengthen her democratic way of life can be successful only as her citizens achieve a sense of individual responsibility and integrity. Her efforts to weld her gigantic population into a single national community call for discipline and education in national loyalty and sacrifice for the nation. But it is her determination to fulfil her responsibility not merely as a nation but also as a co-operative member of the world community of nations, for she envisages her role in history in international and not merely national

terms. For all these tasks China needs men and women not only of vocational competence but also of character and vision. The Christian Colleges, as *Christian* institutions of *learning,* have a vital contribution to make to these inter-related needs.

3. We are keenly aware of the many practical difficulties under which these Colleges must attempt, now and in the coming years, to fulfil their destiny. In order to hearten them in their work and to provide them with such assistance as lies within our power, we wish to remind them of their noble record, to share with them some of the lessons which we in the West have learned by a painful process of trial and error, and to redefine with them the nature and objectives of Christian education.

4. What is the distinctive contribution of Christianity to modern China? Our deepest conviction, as Christians, is that man cannot achieve, without God's help, that individual integrity and dignity, that brotherhood and community, which China is struggling to achieve in her great hour of need. We also believe that the God who has revealed Himself to man in Jesus Christ can do for man more than he can ask or think. We believe that man's greatest tragedy, today as always, is his failure to avail himself of this Divine Wisdom and Power for himself, for his community, and for the healing of the nations. The distinctive contribution of the Christian Colleges in China is *education in the spirit of the Christian Gospel.*

We hope and pray that the Christian Colleges in China will make the exemplification and communication of this Christian spirit their *central* task, and that they will combat the tendency towards secularisation to which many of our American colleges, Christian in origin and intent, have yielded. Our Colleges have too often allowed a purely secular approach to displace a Christian approach to the problems of body, mind, and character. The resultant harm to our students and to our democratic community is incalculable.

This central Christian emphasis should, we believe, express itself in the Christian Colleges in China in a number of ways. It should appear, first and foremost, in the lives of the Christian staff, and in that indefinable atmosphere of Christian fellowship that can permeate an entire campus when most of the members of the staff of the colleges are sincerely dedicated to Christ. It should express itself in Christian worship, in Sunday services and in week-day chapel services; in Christian instruction, not only in courses on religion but, whenever appropriate, in courses in every subject in the curriculum, so that students may be helped to make the proper synthesis between religion and other branches of knowledge; and, last but not least, in the many extra-curricular activities—social, athletic, and philanthropic—in which students can learn the bearing

of the Christian Gospel upon the daily lives and needs of their fellowmen.

We fully appreciate the many ways in which the Christian Colleges are today prevented from doing all they would like to do along these lines. But we would urge them to seize every opportunity now open to them to relate all truth to Christian truth, all human welfare to the true source and power of human life. And we would urge them particularly to make every effort to demonstrate to all concerned that they can make their greatest contribution to China's magnificent struggle by functioning as *Christian* Colleges and by revealing the impact of vital Christian faith upon every human problem in every walk of life.

5. What is the distinctive contribution of the Christian Colleges as *educational* institutions? It is, we still believe, the offering of both a liberal education that will enrich and deepen human experience, and a professional training that will enable the student to employ his vocational skills in a humane and liberal perspective.

Here again we would share with the Colleges in China the lessons of our mistakes. We have too often permitted liberal education in this country to become mere learning for learning's sake, forgetting that man is more than intellect and that education should nourish the entire personality and give its impress to all of human living. We have permitted our students to specialise in one branch of study too early and too exclusively, and we have allowed them to leave our liberal arts colleges pathetically one-sided in equipment and outlook. In much of our teaching in these colleges we have tended to emphasise individual facts rather than the methods and criteria of factual inquiry; and we have tended to impress upon our students our individual patterns of belief instead of teaching them how to make responsible judgments of their own. We have in some measure introduced them to their Western cultural heritage, but we have neglected for the most part to help them to understand and appreciate the riches of other cultures such as the Chinese. Above all, we have not made them sufficiently aware of the true relation of liberal studies to the practical problems of human life, to man's vocational skills, and to the many social tasks of local, national, and international co-operation.

In this period of educational advance in China the Christian Colleges have an unparalleled opportunity to help China benefit from our mistakes, thus developing a truly liberal system of education by a wise understanding of its real nature and purpose. This purpose, is, we believe, the training of young men and women for responsible citizenship in a free society. The education requisite to this end includes a discipline in the languages of human thought and com-

munication, in the methods of factual inquiry and responsible judgment, and in the achievement of historical, cultural, and philosophical perspective. Education, so conceived, will help to prepare the student to face life with a realistic recognition of fact and a dynamic idealism; it will lead him to respect the common task and the need for vocational training to perform his task efficiently; it will widen his horizon and help him always to relate means to ends, immediate loyalties to more ultimate loyalties, his own needs and those of his community to the needs and aspirations of all men throughout the world. It will, in short, promote his own integration as an individual and enable him to take his part in China's challenging task of national reconstruction and international co-operation.

We in the west have also tended to conceive of vocational training too narrowly. We have been blind to the dangers of professional skill divorced from liberal and humane objective. This failure is in a large measure the cause of our social unrest and of the cataclysm into which the whole world has now been plunged. As China develops her comprehensive program of vocational training, the Christian Colleges can make a major contribution by setting all vocational training in the context of human needs and spiritual ends. In emphasising the intimate relation in which professional competence should stand to the use to which such competence is put, of technical ability to moral character, they can do much to protect China from that spirit of ruthless exploitation of nature and man and from that blind worship of power which is causing the whole world such misery today. They can help China to avoid a misuse of science and technology and to develop her natural resources for the genuine welfare of her own people and of the peoples of other lands and nations.

In short, the Christian Colleges can render China an inestimable service by conceiving of liberal education in organic relation to professional pursuits and the business of human living, and by conceiving of vocational training in organic relation to the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship in a free society. They can also help Christian Colleges in other lands, including America, by setting them an example and by providing them with guidance and inspiration.

6. Never in her long history has China had so challenging an opportunity to achieve her national destiny within the family of nations. Hence her desperate need for men and women dedicated to this ideal and equipped to perform the many urgent tasks of today and tomorrow. She needs young people who are technically trained in all the vital vocations and professions. She needs young people who are alive to China's own culture and who are also able to

understand and appreciate other cultures, western and eastern alike. She needs young people who are able to grasp the conditions and implications of responsible citizenship under law. She needs men and women who realise the value of individual initiative, of family loyalty, of national service, and of international co-operation—all in relation to one another. She needs leaders in every walk of life—not people who are striving for personal power and prestige, but true leaders who, so far as possible, combine technical proficiency, cultural appreciation, and social responsibility to China and to mankind. This challenge must be met in China by innumerable individuals and groups with whom the Christian Colleges will wish to co-operate to the utmost. The *distinctive* contribution of the Colleges, however, will depend upon the extent to which they can exemplify, in all they do and say, that Christian spirit which, both they and we believe, provides the answer to China's deepest needs. May they, in these days of weariness and anxiety, keep up "the good fight" with courage and confidence. Their cause is ours, and they may rest assured that we will make every effort to share their heavy load and to assist them in every way that lies within our power.

A FEDERATION VISITOR'S TRAVEL DIARY

I left Malmö on a September day by Swedish plane. We started magnificently from Bulltofta but had to return after a few minutes as fog was reported over Copenhagen and landing was forbidden. The fog seemed rather symbolical to us! After some hours of waiting, and one or two false starts, we made our real start, coming down in Copenhagen after fifteen minutes only to hasten to the orange-coloured Danish plane that was to take us farther. We had only time to catch a glimpse of the beautiful green copper roofs of the city and to meditate over a camouflaged plane just arrived from Berlin out of which rows of high military and civil officials stepped away to govern Denmark! After another trip of one and a half hours we came down at Tempelhof, catching at the same time the first view of heavy bombing damage.

My stay in Berlin was only for the afternoon and I had just time to visit a friend who was just on the point of evacuation. I could very well see why they had to evacuate; not five metres in front of their door was a bomb-crater, seven and a half metres deep. Czech workers were repairing the damage but the smell was still awful from all the broken pipes. I had to be at the train nearly two hours before it started, in order to have any chance of a seat on the night journey. The departure from Berlin in the twilight was terrible, as for almost half an hour we passed through completely destroyed districts. In Steglitz and Lichterfelde there were not odd houses bombed, but odd houses standing. And the sight of a single villa with light from its windows, flowers on the balcony and washing in the back yard, still standing in a totally bombed quarter made the whole experience still more macabre.

I had dreaded the long journey through the night in the crowded train, but afterwards I was quite glad to have been compelled to make it, as I had better possibilities that way of see-

ing something of the people. My strongest impression was of their everlasting friendliness towards one another, and especially to the soldiers and to me. The whole spirit in the compartment was of such an excellent fellowship that I felt it quite natural to offer them my box of chocolates. They were amazed; "This must come from the peace," they said. A lady in the train, going down to Bavaria to find some place of evacuation for her boys, asked me, "You're going to Switzerland to make peace for us, aren't you?" One felt the question lying on many lips those days. I saw nothing whatever of the much talked of irritation and discourtesy, but a Swiss business man with whom I crossed the frontier told me that the atmosphere had been completely changed within the very last days—after Mussolini had been recaptured. All the people in the trains were reading the reports on that fantastic adventure. It seemed to tell them: unbelievable things still happen, after all—so others may happen!

Arrival in Switzerland

This was my first visit to Switzerland, but you will perhaps understand me if I say that at once after entering the country I felt much more at home there than in Germany where I have been several times before. To enter Switzerland was somehow to emerge from the passage through a very long and very dark and smoky tunnel, and the experience made a tremendous impression upon me. The absolute contrast between the misery, the greyness and the suffering of a country at war and the quiet luxury and superfluity of a neutral country forms somehow the strongest impression from my whole journey.

The very first evening I was given a neatly typed and composed program, containing at first visits to the office, and to our various Federation friends, and then later on mostly of various meetings. And so I jumped headlong into the enchantment of seeing old friends again and making a lot of new and wonderful acquaintances. I had not imagined before that it could be possible to feel so completely at home in those quite new surroundings and to feel so happy and at ease with mostly new people, but it is no exaggeration if I say that after my return I felt quite home-sick for Geneva and that I have left quite a considerable part of myself

down there, so after this experience I think I can understand much better what it must mean to you to be cut off from all those friends.

As I have written for years to 13 rue Calvin, it was wonderful at last to enter it! I liked it ever so much and was quite impressed by the boiling student relief activity in that old building! They had a tea where I talked to all the office and I liked that very much. They were so nice, all of them. But all those who had been there for a longer time told me how they missed their friends outside, and how they all envied me deeply my extra-European contacts. One day we had a Federation meeting. I did not feel it to be a very great meeting but at least we achieved a rather good survey of the situation in certain European countries. Then we tried to start on the contact problems between belligerent, occupied and neutral countries, especially as they are actualised in the relations between refugees and "host-peoples", e.g., French people in Switzerland and Norwegians in Sweden. There was also some discussion about plans for a new Ecumenical Week in January or February and here perhaps the whole discussion lost itself. . . .

. . . . . .

The difficulty of being "spared"

At last I think I should add some general impressions. During the first days of my stay all walls were covered with large yellow posters. They ran: Suisses! Epargnés! *I think I could say that my deepest impression of the journey is contained in those words, if I may add:* Suisses et Suédois!—Epargnés! *Small concrete experiences during the railway journey stand out as well as my encounter with friends in Geneva, and with French refugee students. I think of the visit to a "camp d'acceuil" close to Geneva with 150 Jewish refugees just arrived from France, sallow and haggard and torn; of my deeper knowledge of the work of the European Student Relief Fund and the great tasks that are still developing, only on too large a scale, really, to be dealt with effectively. All these impressions are part of, and spread lightly over, this main experience: what it means to be saved, to be* épargné, *what responsibilities it brings, what problems it raises for personal contact of today and for living together once more in a world of peace. To me these problems have become acute and*

burning and I have found myself steadily speaking and writing on them after my return.

Switzerland feels itself more isolated than Sweden does; and of course it is, as we have that way out to the west which they envy so much. Perhaps it is a little bit easier to see something of world-scale perspectives from here than from Switzerland. That may also depend upon the difference between the Swedish tradition developed in the last century of growing contact with countries overseas, commercially and culturally, and the Swiss continental point of view. Yet in a certain way you feel more within the events going on in the world, when you are in Switzerland. We have land frontiers only to Norway and Finland, to our closely related neighbours, they to Germany and Italy and France.

But in many aspects there is in both countries the same extreme danger of just sitting down quietly to look at the drama outside, to try to make one's own way of living as comfortable and undisturbed as possible under the circumstances. And one has the feeling that the broad masses of the people, and also of students, may perhaps be not too difficult to move to certain actions for the victims of the war; but on the whole, and in their every-day life, they are just getting on, completely forgetting what is happening outside their doors. The refugees can waken up their hosts for a moment, but their position is extremely delicate and difficult and irritation from both sides is never far away. A discussion in Geneva, where all present were of French nationality, save myself, aired a very deep-grown irritation towards the Swiss hosts who were accused of being bureaucratic, bourgeois and insensitive. They illustrated their accusations with lots of details and I felt they were somehow right until suddenly I realised that I had heard all of this before! The Norwegians in Sweden think quite the same about us and I had to try to explain something of how we feel about it. It is all extremely difficult, and it is only a sign in advance of the problems we have to expect for the future. What is your feeling in England and U.S.A. about these problems? It must be very different for those who are refugees in belligerent countries.

I have come to see our part in the tasks of the Student Relief too in this perspective. More and more I think the main thing

about it is the act of student solidarity. It is our only way of entering at least to some little extent into the world-wide community of those who suffer and make sacrifices. After the war I feel that only those who have been within that community, in some way or other, will be given the right to talk and to work.

Problems of the future

But the problems remain. I recall meeting a German student who had been in the army since he left school five years ago, and who, after being at the eastern front during the whole Russian war, is now wounded and in hospital for a few months, and hearing him talk about his most pressing experience: having to lead boys of seventeen towards death. I think of my discussion with a young theologian, who is doing dangerous work in keeping contacts between his country and the outside world. After such experiences I am none too optimistic of our possibilities of understanding one another when we meet again. Look at the contrast between two European students. One has been through the experiences I have described, has led that life in occupied or belligerent countries which is somehow reduced to the extremities, caring for the material minimum and fighting for the liberty and future of the nation. Another has just been able to continue his studies at his university town, retaining a bourgeois life with all its nuances*—and very little of the extremities!—and even if he has had shorter interruptions for military service or other kinds of national work. These two individuals will need different interpretations of the Gospel. Out of this contrast are rising difficult problems and vast issues for the Federation.*

B.

THE EDITOR'S TRAVEL DIARY

The Wooster Planning Conference

It was good to end the old year and begin the new at a student missionary conference, to realise that, whatever might or might not happen in 1944, the Christian Church had its orders and its assignment. There were about five hundred of us, four hundred being students from the United States and Canada, with fifty representatives from Asiatic, African, European, and Latin American countries. It was a serious and hard working meeting, for we did not forget world events. We were conscious that we were truly acting in a representative capacity for many who were otherwise occupied, and who in many cases had reached the missionary frontiers before us in an unexpected service. But we were not a remnant; a far larger number of equally fine delegates could have been secured from the depleted, but by no means exhausted, student field of North America. Wooster was not a stop-gap; it was a step forward. The fact that the influenza epidemic mowed down the ranks of speakers was not wholly disadvantageous! We missed some leadership, especially that of Edwin Espy who had been chief architect, but we gained in spontaneity and coherence as each day was planned as it came, and Winburn Thomas, the new S.V.M. secretary, used all his experience with students in Japan to give definiteness and simplicity to our programme.

My first impression is of community, *a sense of belonging to a company of men and women of all races and nations. Clearly that was the result of an extremely well-mixed representation of Canadian and American students, and of the excellent foreign delegations. We rose to welcome our guests when they were marshalled on the platform, but, and this was an unusual feature, they rose for a moment in silence at the bidding of one of their number, in token of gratitude for what North American Christians had done in their countries. The result of this sense of being lifted*

into fellowship made its way down into the inter-racial problems of the United States, and many new friendships and resolutions were made. A wide variety of student groups were represented, and in some measure this emphasis on community *expressed the sense of frustration of the students at their failure to achieve unity on their own campuses. I had the feeling, yes, and the hope, that a fire was lit at Wooster which might burn up some unnecessary prejudices and hesitations before the American universities are filled again with men and women who will be impatient with our failure to be one.*

A fresh sense of commitment

The second impression was of vocation. *Groups on this topic were an innovation in a North American quadrennial. An educational system which takes pride in vocational guidance may easily miss the point of Christian vocation. American students take their future careers seriously and often ask where their gifts may be best used in the service of mankind. But here was a new note which suggested that their gifts and training were not so important as themselves. Christian vocation is the calling of the whole man into the service of God, and it is not finally conditioned by the scope and suitability of a career. Thirdly, there was a moving spirit of* humility *in the whole meeting. Let students elsewhere dismiss from their minds the fear that the best elements in the student life of North America are thoughtlessly setting out to reconstruct the world. At Wooster there was a realisation of human suffering and estrangement, and of the complexities of human affairs. Out of that realisation students were asking whether there might be some part they could play, along with others, and learning from others, in the building of a better world.*

Community, vocation, and humility are not all that is required for the task of rebuilding the world. There were some who felt that our analysis was too shallow. It did not go very deep. We need badly more consecrated study and understanding of the social and political revolution of our day. But the students of North America are beginning to find a clear lead in the Gospel, and who will stop them? What is needed is a sound united plan for the study of the Bible, upon which a Christian approach to wider ques-

tions can be based. Is it too much to hope that the impetus of Wooster will bring this about, while the time is ripe, and the mood is on?

Southward Bound

One night in Toronto and I was off for South America. Miami no longer felt like a rich man's resort, but like one of the main entries from America into the war zone. I remembered the passenger who found himself by accident in North Africa instead of Washington, and decided to make very sure that my plane was properly labelled! Surprisingly it turned out to be the famous China Clipper, now spending its old age crossing the Caribbean instead of the Pacific. As I looked at the notices in Chinese, instructing me not to smoke, I wondered if T. Z. Koo had once tried to sleep in my most unyielding seat. Out we stepped at Cristobal to meet the heat, and the waiting in line, and the indefiniteness of arrangements, which the tropics seem to provide. Once again I was forcibly reminded of Port Said; canals and international crossroads seem to attract similar populations in East and West. The Indian shops with wares from every corner of the globe, and the stores, which contained the goods you could no longer find in London or New York, made the streets seem like some paradise of a black market. We crossed to Balboa in the train past those steamy jungles and lakes with dead trees sticking up all over them, which must be depressing to the American boys who guard this life-line. There they were in their immaculately ironed shirts, and creased pants; and in the clipper had come a group of gallant cheery professional entertainers to make them forget where they were!

After a night in the International Hotel, newly erected in the North American manner with a French flair of which the proprietor was justly proud, I was off again for Colombia. When the shutters in the windows were removed we were sweeping over green water and darker green forests and soon we landed by the Pacific Ocean on a little strip of grass behind the sand, and I was paying my first visit to Colombia. The flight over the foothills and up the mountain valley to Cali was very beautiful. Especially I liked when we flew over the green tops of the lower mountains

and saw the tracks and villages like a map which children had made at school, even to the cows and horses and tiny human beings. Cali is 3,000 feet up, and there was a welcome Alpine feeling in the air. It was Sunday with everyone out for a promenade. I stood with my back to the parapet of the bridge over the mountain river, and thought how inadequate a town is without somewhere the sound of running water. A Franciscan Church of lovely rough red brick with blue pottery jars on its terrace invited me to enter and say a brief Sunday prayer, and I knew that I had passed into that other civilisation, which we name so inadequately Latin American.

From Cali we flew with one or two halts to refuel direct to Lima. Mountain and sand and great spaces of the sea made our silver plane seem so small and alone. There seemed no reason why men should live below us, and the occasional cluster of huts, or the straight lines of a Spanish city seemed to have been built by heroic men. At one of the little airports a Dutch fellow passenger said "I suppose someone is at home here," and we realised that most people don't travel. Travel by air gives one a queer sense of detachment. Why should one come down at any particular place, or even at all? How slowly the ground passed beneath us, and yet how remote it seemed. I found myself acquiring a certain hostility to terra firma, *and yet I was very glad to walk on it again!*

The City of the Kings

Lima was gay with flowers and flowering trees. Little dark men in wide straw hats were grubbing in the corners of the parks, and coaxing water with tins and tubes out of ponds to produce the most marvellous results. The Cathedral was getting a new white face upon it, and its earthquake cracks were at the least being covered up, perhaps mended, who knows? Street cars hooted and clanged down the ancient streets of the Orphans, and the Sword-makers, and the Divorced Women, and the Jews and the Ten Commandments. I learned to be nimble on my feet again to save my life and to mingle with the good nature and sadness of the crowds. I was glad I had begun my trip this time with the City of the Kings, the capital of Spanish South America. I

drifted down back streets and in and out of churches, revelling in the colonial days which are still so evident.

Later I visited two museums side by side in the same afternoon. The first is the creation of that great antiquarian Dr. Tello, whose wise Indian face and clear and restrained English sentences made him an admirable guide. The beauty in form and colour of fabrics and pottery centuries old spoke to us of peoples about whom almost everything is yet to be discovered, but who were once the Peruvians. Next door we passed into the cumbersome civilisation of the early nineteenth century. Bolivar and San Martin looked down at us from the walls, and independence was written over every campaigning bedstead and horsehair sofa. Is there something illusory about all national freedom? Does it ever turn out what it was supposed to be? To the Indian tribes in the Sierra such freedom means little, and the past glories of Indian races still less. To the men and women of mixed race who thronged the streets political independence had not really meant freedom from mediaeval Spain in the reality or shadow of its religion. And the minority in the hotel lounge seemed to have exchanged a colonial inheritance for membership in the international bourgeoisie.

Trujillo in the North

I remembered that a capital city is never a country and determined to go farther afield. My plans would not allow of my visiting the Sierra, the high places of the Andes, or the Montaña, the jungles of the headwaters of the Amazon. I had to be content with a few days in two provincial cities, which were also university centres—Trujillo to the north, and Arequipa to the south, paradoxical centres of freedom and dogmatism.

To Trujillo I set off in a bus at 6.30 a.m. with my never-failing guide, philosopher and friend, Neil Mackay of the Colegio Anglo-Peruano. Aching in every limb but in good spirits we rolled into the city twelve hours later. The journey of four hundred miles was along the Pan-American Highway, at this point an excellent road. Our lunch in a little town en route was taken in the Restaurant panamericano, but the fact of being a stopping place on an inter-continental route had not affected the

character of the people or the service. If you wanted an egg, you were shown it in the shell as evidence before cooking, a refinement seldom possible now in a London restaurant! But I contented myself with one of those excellent Peruvian soups, which contain almost everything served hot, and are most sustaining.

The road ran by the sea, or along cliffs, or swung away inland to climb over a spur of the mountains. Around us was the most formidable landscape of pitiless naked rock and stone, covered at times by sweeping fields of sand, which seemed to climb the hills as if to bury them. We passed an ancient Indian fortress still guarding a ford with its crumbling walls. One marvelled at the conquistadores *in their suits of mail subduing this countryside—an expedition strangely paralleled by the Libyan campaign. At infrequent intervals we crossed a river-bed, and sometimes a river. I was told of the answer of a native to a traveller who asked for the river: "The river is busy elsewhere." And very busy these rivers were, spreading out into trickles wherever water could run like a child's city in the sand, in order that green things might grow. And grow they did, luxuriously so that whenever we crossed that most definite of all lines between desert and cultivation a wave of coolness and of smell of vegetation rushed through the open windows of the bus.*

There were many signs in Trujillo of a recent eucharistic congress, including the whitewashing of the cathedral, which the inhabitants regretted, and I had a feeling of having come into a stronghold of the Church. Probably that was largely due to the atmosphere of a small cathedral city and the presence of churches and convents at every turn of the narrow streets. I learnt later to doubt the external evidences of piety. On Sunday morning we had the experience of visiting for a few minutes a Salvation Army Sunday School, and then of standing at the rear of the cathedral during the close of mass while a string quartet in the gallery above the west door played haunting music. From the bare room, with the sound of the smithy through the adobe walls, of a despised and often persecuted sect, which did not dare place its sign in the streets, we passed into the proud and moving dignity of the Church of Rome. Where did the Spirit, which bloweth where it listeth, reside? Certainly it rested in the heart of that

Evangelical woman with her kind and spiritual face, as she welcomed us so graciously to her little room behind the school; certainly it was present in that great act of the offering of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Yet something is wrong when a Church passes over her own grave sins and failure to anathematise a few thousand folk who have found the light in the sacred Book rather than in an elaborate ceremonial to which they could give no content; and something is wrong when Protestants are so divided upon the side issues of the faith that they cannot make the great contribution of the Reformation, but all too often reflect the bigotry with which the officials of the Church meet them. It was therefore almost a relief to make contact next day with an entirely secular university, with twelve hundred students from all the northern parts of Peru, which had, surprisingly through one man, caught the habit of a North American school and was building up pride in an Alma Mater. *In the street we met a youthful Father in his robes who was the spiritual adviser of a growing group of students, and was conscious of his relationship to Pax Romana, and talked of Protestant and Roman Catholic co-operation in Chinese student relief. But beyond that group were the great majority who cared for none of these things.*

Arequipa in the South

Arequipa came at the end of my visit to Peru. While Trujillo was only a few miles from the sea, and scarcely above it, Arequipa was on the "eyebrow of Peru" 8,000 feet above the sea and under the great bulk of El Misti, towering into the snows at 19,250 feet. This was a city I had visited by accident for a night in 1941 and to which I had pledged myself to return. The new hotel is at the top of the climbing city, and from its entrance you look over spires and towers to the clear-cut mountains of the coastal range, while the sound of church bells falls almost constantly upon your ear. From the back of the hotel you look up through the most charming garden, like an English cottage garden if it were not for cactuses among the carnations and eucalyptus trees above the geraniums, and your eye travels beyond the irrigation channel to the rose-coloured desert slopes with a boy bringing down his

sheep, or a horseman rounding up his horses, to the slopes of the great mountains. Beside you an Indian woman in red skirt and shawl and straw hat is pulling grass with her hands and then swinging it with her baby in a piece of stained cloth over her shoulders, and two men are quietly chatting with their elbows on the back of a patient donkey which stands unconcerned between them.

Down in the city a brisk tramcar clangs past a saddle-horse standing untethered outside a doorway waiting for its master, and a passer-by helps an Indian porter to lift his staggering burden on to his shoulders. Through the doorway you see a patio with some flowers, perhaps a palm tree, and often an ancient inscription or piece of carving. For this is a very Spanish city, four hundred years old, and resisting change in its outward appearance. The Plaza de Armas lies slanting in the sun with a great cathedral along its upper side, flanked by towers and arches. The volcanic stone of the district makes it a white city and the great white church is a very noble building. Round windows in the roof cast shafts of light down upon the scattered worshippers at their prayers.

But it would be false to conclude that this is a holy city; men talk of the Marxist views of its workers, good workers in leather and stone and iron. The hold of the Church is more spectacular than real. Curiously enough I sat in a trim Evangelical bookshop and looked up at the vaulted ceiling, on which a mitre and the keys of the kingdom were embossed, for this had been an Archbishop's chapel! One longed that the Church would entrust some of its power, not accidentally but in reality, to the appeal of the Gospel. Then I was rebuked for my criticism by a visit to the beautiful school of the brothers of La Salle with a sense of grace and peace within its walls.

Peruvian students

The reader will think I have talked enough about things in general and should come quickly to the point about students. To be honest, the students were on vacation, and the contacts of the W.S.C.F. with them are very slender! Perhaps some of my ramblings may have shown why it is difficult to build up a relig-

ious organisation amongst them. Protestant students are few and far between, and social distinctions make it very difficult for them to exert any influence upon their fellows. I met representatives of a number of groups of students, some active in Catholic Action, some scholarly and indifferent to religion, some politically alive, and some bravely trying to give what they would call a Protestant witness. All the students, and ex-students I met, were invariably friendly and open-hearted to a stranger, but at once in conversation came out the ignorance and distrust of one another's milieus. Religion is not a uniting but a sundering influence. The frankest comment was from a student of engineering: "Religion in Peru just seems to produce guys like me who are indifferent, or fanatics."

The social and political background of student life scarcely gives any movement amongst students a chance. In Peru the average student hopes not too confidently his funds will see him through college, and that his degree will get him a job. But he has no trust in his surroundings; he is an individual fighting for his own hand. The war has meant prosperity for some in his country, but not for him. He does not see that it will change things much. His sympathies are with the United Nations but they are far away and do not seem to include him in their promised post-war benefits. The structure of society is rigid, or apparently so; at least its imperfections are not acknowledged and cannot be discussed. And religion does not seem to be a hopeful factor. Too often he has with good reason rejected its manifestations, and it seems to hold no further possibilities. I found both genuine Catholic devotion combined with utter social conservatism, and suppressed political enthusiasm wholly disillusioned about religion.

Yet I am not such a fool as to despair of the situation in Peru, so far as the W.S.C.F. is concerned. This may not be the time to organise, but it is certainly the time to cultivate. In my notebook are the names of individuals who are anxious for contact with the religious movements of students outside Peru, and of groups which sporadically or continuously, directly or indirectly, are doing the kind of things an S.C.M. does. It is our part now to keep in touch with them and help them all we can. My own mind has been immensely enriched by contact with students and

older people of an exceptionally wide range of interest, though few in number. I shall not forget a long conversation in a park with a young Peruvian pastor from the Sierra, several illuminating talks with Y.M.C.A. friends, a clandestine meeting by night with a sincere and inspiring political leader, the friendly courtesy of young Catholics to whom I bore introductions, and the cordial greetings of Evangelical brethren, who were so patient with me as a globe-trotting, hotel-staying caricature of a Christian. The South American peoples are past masters at receiving strangers, if not angels, unawares!

Peru is a very beautiful country (and I was never in the high mountains!) but it is a sad country. It has been Christian in name for four hundred years; yet it still awaits that freedom, religious at its heart but social and political in its implications, which has its only source in the Holy Spirit. The day will surely come when students of Peru through a Student Christian Movement will be able to play their part in that awakening. As we shall see in the next instalment, this is already happening in some other countries of the great southern continent.

R. C. M.

BOOK REVIEWS

CHRISTIAN COUNTER-ATTACK. By Hugh Martin, Douglas Newton, H. M. Waddams, R. R. Williams. *6/-.*

NO OTHER GOSPEL. By J. O. Cobham, A. G. Hebert, F. Hildebrandt, N. Micklem, A. R. Vidler, R. R. Williams. *Student Christian Movement Press, London. 2/-.*

These two short volumes both tell the great story of Christian resistance on the continent of Europe, but they tell it from different angles. The setting of the first is political, and of the second confessional. It seems to us very important to keep this distinction clear. The courageous witness of our fellow-Christians can be used to illustrate a point we want to make; that is the danger of the first book. But the same witness can also be so studied as to make us feel very uncomfortable about our own Christianity; and that is the admirable result of the second book.

To be fair to *Christian Counter-attack* we hasten to say that it is an excellent summary of the most important information on the Church struggle. It has the great merit of including the story of Roman Catholic resistance along with that of the Protestant churches. For that reason alone the reviewer would be grateful. The defect of the book is declared in its sub-title *Europe's Churches against Nazism.* That is too limited a frame for so complex a picture. The resistance of the Church is both deeper and wider, and by describing it simply in the anti-Nazi category much of its inner meaning is missed.

Two particular criticisms might here be offered. Firstly, why is there a tendency to make Protestant resistance in Germany and France seem inferior to Catholic resistance? If we are to deal with the political bearing of action in the churches, we must deal with all the facts. Admitting the greater gullibility of Protestants in certain situations, why cover up the equivocal position of Catholics? The ridiculously mild rebuke to Fr. Tiso of Slovakia (p. 54), and the unconscious irony of quoting a British ambassador to Spain on the common stand of Catholics and Protestants (p. 17) look strange beside the very proper emphasis upon divisions within the Protestant forces in Germany. Is it right to suggest that Catholics in France took a quicker and firmer stand than Protestants after the armistice? Surely the confusion in the ranks of Catholics,

caused by Marshal Pétain's emphasis on a spiritual France went deeper than is suggested on p. 96. The reviewer's experience in France in June and July 1940 would not bear out the suggestion on p. 102 that it took Karl Barth's letter to open the eyes of Protestants. We raise these points, not out of a spirit of contention, but to show how unforunate it is to begin assessing the political effectiveness of Christian resistance, particularly at this date.

Secondly, the limited framework of this account necessitates the overlooking, or minimising, of certain areas of resistance. The patronising paragraphs on Finland might well have been omitted. Unfortunately Christian resistance in Finland does not conform to the pattern of this book. For the same reason there can be no mention of the identical phenomenon in the Baltic countries. A revealing comment on p. 118 is upon the close alliance in fellowship between the Churches of Finland and Norway. Christian resistance refuses to be bound by political categories.

No Other Gospel goes to the root of the matter, and fastens upon the rediscovery of faith, and the courageous affirmation of faith in the face of forces that challenge it, as the significant characteristic of Christian resistance. The opening address by Gabriel Hebert on *The Gospel of God,* and the closing one by Alec Vidler on *The Church in England and —?* provide a true setting for the lessons of resistance. The only ultimate test of the magnificent opposition to Nazism is whether the Christian churches, not only in Europe, have rediscovered the faith by which men may live courageously and creatively in a world freed from Nazism but beset by other temptations to destruction which may be more insidious, because they are less blatant.

R. C. M.

Heritage and Destiny. By John A. Mackay. *Student Christian Movement Press, 1943. 3/-.*

A Preface to Christian Theology. By John A. Mackay. *Nisbet and Co. Ltd., London, 1943. 7/6.*

We are privileged in having two books so lately from the pen of President John Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary, both so particularly addressed to the needs and questions of our time, and so likely to appeal to readers on both sides of the Atlantic. The *Preface to Christian Theology* is explicitly written "for the ordinary intelligent reader, both clerical and lay," while the more recently published *Heritage and Destiny* is addressed primarily to American students, and seems peculiarly adapted to Student Christian Movement libraries and study groups.

The first words of the latter book catch the imagination: "The road to tomorrow leads through yesterday." The writer points out how men and peoples are looking in troublous days to their own national and cultural past for some guidance in the future, and reminds us that Christianity also points back to yesterday. "The most sacred command in the Bible reads: 'This do in remembrance of me.' "

We are taken back to the early history of Israel, that people in whose national life "the twin sense of heritage and destiny" played a pre-eminent part, and discover that in the life story of the Hebrew race is portrayed the truth that the destiny of a people, or a person, is determined by the "attitude they take up to God and His purpose." Thence, from the "dawn of the day of the individual" which comes with Christ, we trace the development of the idea of man and his destiny, through the Middle Ages, and up to modern times with their diverse theories of nationhood. As we look at the modern world we are faced with the question: where in our present situation are we to look for renewal? It becomes clear that we can only answer this question in terms of the Christian revelation; further, "no system of ethics can be fully Christian that leaves out of account the possibility of a nation's special relationship to God".

Dr. Mackay's appeal to students (and how aptly it comes to other students beside those of America!) is to turn once more to their own national heritage, and, studying it in the light of what they have learnt about God's ways with men, to find what place He is calling them to fill in the world of the 20th century. It seems however as if Dr. Mackay had a special message to the students he is more particularly addressing in this book, in that he has here provided a new and living link between the world of the Old and New Testaments and the world of today. If the Christian student of America has been somewhat slower than some of his fellows in other lands to turn back to the Bible for new impetus and new understanding of his faith, it is because the visible needs and problems of society, as they press urgently upon his eager sympathies, have engrossed his attention, while the inexorable burden of war has not yet fallen so cruelly upon him as on some others. It is at this very point that our author approaches his subject, and if he carries his hearers with him, it will be no far cry from the destiny of the United States of America to that deeper search for the source of Christian assurance in the books of the Bible.

A Preface to Christian Theology is already known to many readers. In the words of Professor John Baillie of Edinburgh University who writes the Introduction to the British edition, the author "gathers up many of the most promising new lines of

approach to the theological problem which have lately been opened up . . . first making them very much his own"; by letting his imagination play upon them, and by setting them against the background of a peculiarly rich experience of the world.

In a striking opening passage the Road to Emmaus is taken as a picture and symbol of "the road of our time"; and man is seen, in "a mood of quiet desperation" seeking once more for the meaning of life. Theology's new task Dr. Mackay sees as that "of restoring the foundations upon which all true life and thought are built."

But not only is Theology a crucial need of our time. The angle from which man is helped to begin his search is of immense importance; and Dr. Mackay describes the two alternative angles which are possible by the metaphor of the "balcony" and the "road". The former is found to be the angle of many great philosophies, but we are shown that the latter is the only one possible for the Christian. This metaphor provides a framework for the entire argument of the book, the greater part of which is devoted to man's pilgrim way along his road of quest, as he seeks and finds God in nature, in the biblical view of history, in culture, and finally and inescapably in his own personal encounter with Jesus Christ and the Cross. Here alone he finds meaning for his life, and spiritual freedom.

But individual freedom is not enough. "Goodness must be corporate as well as individual." Brotherhood is the great human ideal, and in its noblest expression it is "brotherhood by supernatural grace", only to be found within the Church of Christ. In his closing pages Dr. Mackay outlines the task of the Church in this time—a threefold task, prophetic, regenerative, and communal. "The Church knows that in God's world might will not permanently triumph. She knows that Jesus Christ is Lord, and that a will to fellowship, and not a will to power, shall ultimately prevail. To make that will prevail, the life and thought of the Christian Church are dedicated."

No brief review can do justice to these two books, the value of which is incommensurate with their small compass. President Mackay has been well known to some generations of Student Christian Movements as the author of *The Other Spanish Christ*—a book which, though twelve years out of date, has in many respects a startling relevance to the present situation. And to those who have followed his utterances and writings he is one of the great teachers and preachers of the Christian Church today. The present reviewer confesses to the sense, on laying down each of these books, of having just listened to a great sermon, and of having caught something of the deep conviction, joy and assurance of one who has much to pass on to this generation.

D. M.

HISTORIA DE LA REFORMA EN ESPAÑA. By C. Gutiérrez-Marín. *Casa Unida de Publicaciones. Mexico D. F. 1942.*

Some years ago the author of this preface and publisher of this work was lamenting that the Christian public of Latin America had little or no knowledge of that brilliant if unhappy period of the Spanish Reformation, and that they preserved only the slightest doctrinal relationship with the Fathers of that heroic Christian episode, in comparison with that which was manifest in other peoples of the Latin race. "Now since Protestantism is a spirit, a spirit which inspired the efforts of all those who within the fold of the Catholic Church stood forth in its spiritual renewal, and who among our own Latin peoples pointed out with prophetic finger courses of life-giving spirituality, why do we not build the foundations of our impulse of renewal upon the base laid by their efforts? Why should not we continue the work of Pedro Valdo, of Savonarola, of Juan de Valdés? Why do we not make firm our roots in the reform movement which was prematurely extinguished by the Inquisition and Jesuitism?"

Evangelical Christianity has developed in the countries of Spanish America from being an imported Anglo-Saxon article which was exotic to the mind and temperament of our race. The legend of Protestant "chill" which does not suit the so-called fieriness of the Latin soul has been spread abroad with insidious insistence and has been welcomed as an axiom, not only by the populace but also by writers of note who, doing without a calm critical examination of the matter, support it shamelessly. A short time ago, a professor of the National University of Mexico, a man of authority who is greatly to be esteemed on other counts, repeated it with conclusive force. The concocters and disseminators of this legend appear to forget, in the first place, that there are other elements besides southern warmth in the Spanish character, and much more so in the American species, which has a blend of the age-old melancholy and austerity of the Indian; further they are turning their backs on history and are keeping back what they know, or ought to know, about the vigorous reform movements which have arisen on Latin soil, surely an incontestable proof that the Reformation is not exclusively Anglo-Saxon property. It is not the Spanish temperament which is at variance with the Reformation, but rather the gloomy and parching climate created by the Jesuits and the Inquisition.

But it must be recognised that the blame for the legend mentioned above must be borne partly by the ignorance and unconcern of the Evangelical Christians of Hispano-America with regard to the reform movements in countries which are akin to them in blood and tradition, and particularly Spain. It is our duty to understand the

Spanish Reformation, to steep ourselves in its spirit, admit to our lives the influence of its heroes and martyrs, and quench our thirst at the fountains of its theology and preaching, and from that Reformation which ended in tribulation make our own triumphant Reformation. For this end two things are indispensable: to read the Spanish reformers and to make ourselves familiar with the movement they started.

It is obvious that we must begin with the second of these. And yet it might well happen that the works of the reformers should continue, as before, unread, owing to the lack of interest united to the widespread ignorance as to who they were and what great deeds they did, were not this book directed to end such a state of affairs—this book written by the Spanish pastor Claudio Gutiérrez-Marín, who is himself the spiritual inheritor, by direct descent, of the Spanish reformers.

It is not the least merit of this work that it should be the first in Castilian which aims, with such a complete chronology for the period it treats of, at taking the chief episodes and portraying the courageous figures of the Reformation in Spain. The investigation begins in fact with those early New Testament days when Saint Paul already bore in his heart that joyful charge of the Spirit to carry the Gospel to Spain, and loved it "with the bowels of Jesus Christ". Beginning there the author pursues his researches diligently through those religious movements in which there glows an intimate and burning faith to that "other Spanish Christ" of Whom John Mackay has spoken so movingly, that Christ of the gospels who is not stifled, nor ever shall be, by the sinister hand of any form of Inquisition. We see this devotion to Christ, through the centuries, aflame on the spiritual hearth of Spain, praying in the burning passion of her mystics, in the unquenchable ardour of her reformers, yes even in the inspired striving of thinkers and philosophers who like Unamuno have marked themselves with the sword-print of love, and carried the cross in their hearts.

This book sets forth with an ordered simplicity and great clearness of exposition the various stages of the Protestant movement in Spain (as it may fittingly be called), as it first developed with a purely native impulse, and later was encouraged by the direct missionary power of Protestants from other lands. The author shows us the facts in their chronological sequence, grouping them round those vigorous personalities who headed the movement and kept it on the march. In this way the narrative gains extraordinary life and power.

Merely to read the *History of the Reformation in Spain* has immense value. It is impossible to turn its pages without feeling

the vibration of sympathetic hearts in the depth of one's being: without regretting how much of spiritual richness is lost by those who are ignorant of those heroic deeds and of those few valiant souls to whom God committed the unrewarding task of witnessing to Christ in the face of powerful and implacable hostile powers. But further this book has a unique value as a study book. The hour has come when we ought to study the Reformation in Spain not as a mere episode running parallel to the Lutheran or Calvinist Reformations, but as an original movement, creative and characteristic, which deserves a special course of study. Don Claudio Gutiérrez-Marín has with this work done a great service to the cause of the Gospel, not only in his own country but through Hispano-America.

—Translated from the preface by G. Báez-Camargo.

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"The first pages of this History began to be written some years ago in the shelter of the peace that was granted to a fortunate nation to enjoy in spite of her minor interior troubles. No one at that time could have suspected that a tremendous hurricane of death and of hatred would yet scourge the four quarters of Spain. The cruel reality forced itself upon us as we saw in our dreams the best and most prosperous days of her history draw near our land. We were tragically mistaken: the outbreak of war destroyed all our fruitful labours.

"I had in my possession a veritable arsenal of documents which were both authentic and hitherto unedited. Some were incorporated in time in the present volume, but others were lost for ever. I was driven by the storms of war to abandon them. At the very time of leaving the country I was amassing the chapters of this historical work which now sees the light of day on American soil. It actually contains pages from my own life and my own sufferings. It is for me one tiny splinter which I have been able to rescue from that unlooked-for shipwreck. If in its words some note of harshness suddenly strikes the ear, the reader will understand the spiritual crisis through which its author passed. It is not possible to write calmly when a whole nation and a whole work of faith have crumbled by the will of man.

"Even within the limits of so compact a work I believe that an approximate idea will be gathered of the great achievement and the no less great sufferings of Spanish believers in the course of their painful journey. If this is so I shall have gained my object."

—Translated from the author's foreword.

THE STUDENT WORLD

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EDITORIAL

Recent issues of THE STUDENT WORLD *have frequently mentioned Russia. For a study of opinion within the World's Student Christian Federation reference should be made particularly to the sections entitled* Thinking Ahead as Christians *in the Third Quarter, 1943, Fourth Quarter, 1943, and First Quarter, 1944, where accounts of international discussions in Britain, Switzerland, North America, and elsewhere, will be found. The term, enigma, has been used more than once in relation to Russia, and it expresses the double process of attraction to, and failure to make intelligent contact with, the problem of Russia's new presence in the world scene. But there is everywhere manifested a positive interest in the problem, and a determination not to let it escape us.*

Realising that only a limited group of people is taking part in these discussions, and that certain voices are noticeably absent, and realising also that no one person necessarily holds all the views expressed by many, we may perhaps trace further the paradoxical nature of the discussion. A summary might run like this: as regards politics, *admiration for Russia's fight against nazism, and hesitation as to her post-war intentions; as regards* society, *admiration for the achievements of Russia, and a bad conscience as to the failures of the democracies; as regards* communist theory, *interest in its relation to Christianity, and distrust*

of its humanist basis; as regards Christianity, *encouragement in news of the strength and official recognition of Christian forces, and indignation at past treatment of Christians, especially of our fellow-members in the Baltic countries. The articles, the travel diary, and three of the reviews assembled in this issue of* The Student World *represent a wide variety of viewpoints, though by no means all that could be expressed in other than war conditions. The hope is that they will lead us towards an understanding of Russia.*

But as Christians our desire to understand cannot be detached, and judicial; it must be governed by our intense desire to have the partnership of our Russian Christian fellow-students in the missionary and reconciling tasks of the Federation. Every Federation discussion in the last few years has ended on that note, and this is essential, if our consideration of other aspects of the problem is not to be dilettante, or impertinent. Happily we have never lost contact with Russian students, and the relation between the Russian Student Christian Movement in emigration and the rest of the Federation in the last twenty-five years has been a mutual blessing. Now, as one of the three constituent organisations in World Student Relief, we rejoice in real, if limited, contacts with Russian students in Russia, where funds have gone from the United States to assist uprooted universities, and in internment camps in Finland, Sweden, Germany and Switzerland, to which books and materials for study have been sent from Geneva and Stockholm. As we have this great privilege of serving Russian students who have given so much for their country, let us continue to pray that ways may open up for contact once again with our fellow Christians in the service of our common Master.

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The renewal of deadly warfare between Russia and Finland, while these pages were in the press, reminds us of the tragic way in which war strikes across the lines of Christian fellowship; and emphasises the equivocal nature of the present conflict. At the same time it helps us to realise the extreme urgency of the problem we are discussing.

R. C. M.

Russia and Christians of the West

John C. Bennett

American and British Christians know that co-operation between their nations and Russia is the foundation of any tolerable world order after the war. Yet many of them are troubled because they are aware of the temptation to be silent concerning their disapproval of specific Russian policies in order to avoid doing anything that might endanger such co-operation. I believe that the only way which we can find out of this difficulty is to attack all of the deeper causes of hostility toward Russia, while we speak frankly about such specific problems as the religious freedom of the Baltic nations and the treatment of German prisoners after the war. Such criticisms of Russian policy are dangerous chiefly because they encourage obsessions of hostility and, if we make them, we have an obligation to do everything in our power to counteract those obsessions. If we do that, we may hope that the fears that have long controlled the Russian attitude toward the western nations may also be undercut.

I think that in Britain the obsessions of hostility have been overcome to an extraordinary degree. Also, I have noted a very different and more open attitude toward Russia in the articles in *The Student World* which have come from the European continent. I fear that in America there has been much less change in this respect. There are still many very influential groups which foment anti-Russian feeling here. All together they may still be a minority of the people. They are found among one wing of American business on the right, and among socialists and others on the left who hate communism as a result of bitter experience; among Roman Catholics who have generally accepted the position of the Roman Church on this subject, a position which has so often betrayed that Church into the hands of the fascists; among such national groups as the Polish Americans; among various kinds of hate-mongers who have powerful newspapers with which to spread their poison.

I owe this distinction between specific criticisms of Russian policy and obsessions of hostility against Russia to a refugee scholar who has himself had cause enough to distrust the communists. (Obsessions in favour of Russia as the messianic nation also confuse the issue and tend to encourage the opposite feelings in others.) If we do not make use of this distinction we may find ourselves either condoning much that goes against our consciences or unwittingly encouraging the kind of anti-Russian prejudice that can wreck the peace. It is not enough to be free from these obsessions ourselves; we have a responsibility to work against the forces which continue to foment them on a large scale.

All criticisms of Russia in America—I speak only of America here but what I say applies to Britain and the western democracies generally—should be accompanied by attempts to correct the bias against Russia at the following points:

1. It should be emphasised in season and out of season that the Russian people have the best reasons for distrusting us. The past policies of America and Britain have left a deposit of fear and suspicion in Russian minds which is entirely understandable. Our nations tried to destroy the Russian revolution after the last war. They ostracised Russia for years. More recently they attempted to appease Germany at the expense of Russia. Russia's foreign policy for two decades has been controlled above all else by a sense of insecurity to which we have contributed, a sense of insecurity which proved to be justified by events. Many, perhaps most, Americans and British have forgotten this past record in their present enthusiasm for Russia's part in the war but the Russians have not forgotten those years of ostracism.

2. It should be remembered that, whatever may be the merits of the case in particular border disputes, the Russians have as good a right as any other nation to make sure that their immediate neighbors are not a menace to their security. Eastern Europe is as important to Russian security as Central America and the Caribbean are to American security.

3. Christians have a special interest in refusing to allow the hostility against Russia to be inflamed because of the religious conflict between communism and Christianity. The Roman Catholic Church has been responsible for making political conflicts into religious conflicts because of its blind hatred of communism. It has never understood that the atheism of communism

is in part a judgment upon the Church. Individual Catholics have recognised this but not the Church. Protestantism has been more receptive to this point of view. The Oxford Conference in a very discriminating statement said: "The Churches must not regard an attack directed against themselves as an attack directed against God. They must acknowledge that God has spoken to their conscience through these movements by revealing through them the real situation of millions of their members."[1] The Conference went on to show specific points of conflict between Christianity and communism, but it avoided the kind of self-righteous condemnation of the communist movement which prevents repentance on the part of Christians for their part in creating a situation which convinced multitudes of people that they had to choose between revolution and Christian faith.

Other articles in this journal examine the religious developments in Russia. It does appear that the godless movement failed to win the Russian people, that the Church in Russia has greater advantages than it has had since the revolution, that communist propaganda inside or outside of Russia will not be directed against Christianity. There will be problems of religious liberty, perhaps especially for Protestant churches under Russian rule, but there is now no reason to assume that those problems are insoluble. With an increase of security it is probable that the Russian people, and others who are under the control of the Soviet government, will have increasing cultural and religious freedom.

4. Another emphasis that must accompany all specific criticisms of Russian policy is that we should seek to overcome the fear of Russia that is based upon the difference between the Russian social and economic system and ours. In some respects Russia has a better record than America. That is true of its attitude toward minority races. It is also true of its effort to plan its economy in the interests of the well-being and security of the people. The drive toward social justice remains in spite of concessions to individualism. I think that it needs to be said continually that neither Russia nor America has found the right balance between freedom for the individual and social control in the interests of the whole community. We in America have not found a way of making a high level of employment stable apart from a war economy. Russia has not found out how to

[1] The Oxford Conference—Official Report, pp. 85-86.

safeguard the freedom and dignity of the individual. Surely there is no place for blind antagonism between those who live under these two systems when both are so obviously defective.

. . . . . .

I do not want to suggest that it will be easy to counteract the obsessions against Russia. They are deeply rooted in the fears and resentments that no arguments can overcome. I have recently been struck by the contrast between the friendliness of many American business men toward Russia, and the hatred of Russia that still remains on the left because of injury at the hands of communists in the past. The Russian government and the communists in our midst still supply provocations which make it difficult to overcome these obsessions. The fact that there is no free public opinion in Russia to which the outside world can speak gives us all a sense of helplessness at times. But when all those things are admitted, it still remains true that co-operation with Russia is a first condition of peace, and that Christians in America and the nations of the west have a chance to make a contribution to that co-operation along the lines which I have suggested.

Why do I speak in this special way of Christians? Because they should have the humility to see the extent to which their own nations are responsible for Russia's sense of insecurity; because they should have a constructive interest in Russia's drive for social justice and racial equality; because they can do most to silence the resentment against Russia based upon religious grounds and because they alone can do what needs to be done from the Christian side to end the conflict between the revolutionary forces in the world and the Christian religion, a conflict which grows out of a profound misunderstanding and which adds a touch of fanaticism to many other conflicts.

The Future of Christianity in Russia

Nicolas Zernov

Russia is one of the least known countries of the modern world. Her people have lived for centuries in complete isolation, and they still have few contacts with other nations. Geography, history, and religion have separated Russia from both Europe and Asia, and made it a continent on its own. This age-long isolation, however, is coming to an end. Russia is likely to play an increasingly active part in international affairs. A growing awareness of this fact is creating a desire to know more about that huge and remote country; but the books dealing with Russia are usually so full of contradictions that her reputation as an enigmatic land has been firmly established.

The misunderstanding of the religious situation

Especially puzzling seems to be the Russian attitude to religion. Before the Communist Revolution Russia was often called "Holy Russia" and her people were considered to be genuinely devout. The violent anti-religious campaign launched by the communists surprised everybody, but gradually the western world got used to it, and the Russians became identified with atheism and materialism. As soon as this opinion was established a new turn in the religious situation occurred. The old Russian Church, described as utterly dead and abandoned by its members, came back to life. The Soviet Government allowed the election of the presiding bishop, called the Patriarch. Huge crowds welcomed the venerable hierarch. The Archbishop of York, after visiting Moscow in September 1943, stated that he had never seen such devout congregations as in the capital of the godless land of the Soviets.

These unforeseen changes from one extreme to another create an impression that the Russians differ radically from other people, and that it is impossible to understand their mentality. This means, of course, that any co-operation with them must present insurmountable difficulties. This last opinion is held by many people both in Europe and in America. Such conclusions, how-

ever, are the result of the lack of knowledge of Russia's past, especially as far as the religion of her people is concerned. They would cease to appear enigmatic if their history were better understood, and their Church life were not so persistently misrepresented.

One of the most conspicuous examples of such a confusion is provided by the generally accepted explanation of the cause and consequences of the conflict between the atheists and the believers in Russia. The popular press of the world has interpreted the persecution of the Christians in Russia as a punishment inflicted upon a corrupt and superstitious body by a radical government disgusted by the sight of Church subserviency to the old Emperor. The whole struggle has been described as being between the enlightened minority of social reformers and the mass of ignorant peasants led by crafty, unscrupulous priests. A sinister "monk" called Rasputin, was usually quoted as a fitting illustration of the degraded state to which Russian clergy was reduced. The disappearance of the Church was confidently predicted by most of the writers on Russia, who insisted that a new nation was born there in 1917, which had nothing in common with its gloomy past.

Such an interpretation of the conflict, although it has been held by many western people, is entirely fortuitous, like the supposed monastic vows of Rasputin, who was neither monk nor priest but an ordinary married peasant. The true cause of religious conflict has to be sought in the irreconcilable opposition between modern secularism with its denial of God and the Christian faith in the Creator.

The conflict between secularism and Christianity

The communists in Russia are faithful disciples of Karl Marx, and they have adhered strictly to the teaching of their master, who, as Lenin said, incorporated the findings of German philosophy, of French socialism, and of English economics in his doctrine. Marxism came to Russia as the last word in XIXth century European development, and the decision of its supporters to crush out belief in God had nothing to do with the history of the Russian Church. Their opposition to religion was the logical conclusion of their conviction that God does not exist, and that dialectic materialism alone contains the whole truth.

There are many atheists and materialists in the West, but the general underestimation of the importance of religion, which is so typical of the pre-war Europe and America, deprived the adherents of this teaching of their driving power. The idea of religious conflict appeared ridiculous to many people in the West, for no other reason than their own indifference to anything which was outside their immediate material concerns. This state of disintegration was unknown in Russia. There both the atheists and the Christians believed in the truth of their doctrine, and recognised the vital importance of religion for the political, social, and economic development of mankind. They were ready, therefore, to fight for their convictions, and spared no efforts in the defence of their faith.

The communist experiment in Russia is not only an attempt at a radical social reconstruction, it is also one of the most decisive religious revolutions in history. The audacity of the godless attack, the stubbornness of the Christian resistance, the unknown spiritual background of the country, and a skilfully conducted propaganda—all these factors contributed to the confusion in the minds of other nations which is still far from being clarified. The thing that chiefly staggers Western Christians is the fact that of all countries Russia has been chosen as the battlefield between modern secularism and Christianity. The Christian West, both Roman and Protestant, is united in looking down upon the Christian East as inferior in its type of religion. It believes itself to be the centre of Christendom, and expects that all the main events in the evolution of Christianity will take place on its soil. The last twenty-five years have challenged this conviction, and at present the Russian Christians stand in the front line of the world-wide conflict between those who deny, and those who assert, the existence of God.

The strength of Christianity in Russia

Many outstanding theologians and writers of the XIXth century, including Dostoevsky, foresaw the coming of this clash. They described various causes which made the Russian Church the most serious opponent to the militant atheism and materialism of the modern age. One of them was the spiritual maturity of its ordinary members. Contrary to the case of many Western communions, Russian Orthodoxy has always been the Church of the people. It has never been controlled by the upper classes,

as usually happens in the West. The Church in Russia provides ample opportunity for active participation in its life to all men and women irrespective of their education or social standard. It is a Church which bases its life, not on ecclesiastical discipline, doctrines or sermons, but on the Eucharist and is from that point of view nearer to the early type of Christianity than the majority of Western confessions.

The same Russian writers, who predicted that their country would stand in the centre of the fierce conflict, also prophesied the victory of the Russian Christians, for they considered that the members of the Orthodox Church were brought up on sound and harmonious teaching. These forecasts have been justified in our time. For twenty-five years a determined group of communists, who ardently believed in the truth of Karl Marx' teaching, have launched one attack after another on the great Christian stronghold represented by the Russian Church, and, in spite of the energy and great driving powers of the attackers, they have failed to overcome the Russian believers in God. All the most up-to-date weapons were used against religion. Education, the press, art, wireless, concentration camps were most skilfully thrown into the battle, but all these proved to be of no avail. The attack was conducted on a broad front. Its object was not the defeat of the Russian Church but the destruction of belief in God. Accordingly, not only all types of Christianity suffered, but all other religions were also hard pressed. The main fury, however, was directed against Eastern Orthodoxy for it was the strongest and most vital body of believers in U.S.S.R.

It is typical that the society which was entrusted with the conduct of the campaign was called neither "anti-Church," nor "anti-Christian" but "godless" and this name expresses well the nature of the struggle which went on in the Russian land. The Soviet Government has never published the figures in regard to the numbers of believers during the different stages of the battle. The speakers of the Godless Society, however, have on many occasions indicated that the substantial majority of people (up to two-thirds of the whole population) firmly maintained faith in God at the time when persecution was specially acute. Therefore Russia has never been a godless country, and the faithfulness of her people to Christ has received new proof at the time of the present war. The recent manifestations of the belief in

God, in which even the younger generation took a prominent place, convinced the Government that its attempt to eradicate religion has failed, and that a new policy has to be devised.

The tactics of the communists in regard to religion, and especially to the Russian Church, have accordingly undergone considerable modification. Whilst in the past the godless expected a complete victory over the Christians, and confidently looked for the time when the entire country should become atheistic, they seem largely to have given up these optimistic hopes. They have accepted the unpleasant fact that the Christians are firmly entrenched, and are likely to remain where they are at present. The important step in this direction was reached in September 1943, when the Government authorised the group of Russian bishops to elect as a Patriarch, Metropolitan Sergius, who was from 1927 the vice-guardian of the Patriarchal Throne.

The reasons for the change in government tactics

This decision has given rise to the statements that the conflict between the godless and the Christians is over, and that a new form of alliance between the Church and the State has been established. This interpretation is misleading. The laws directed against the religious bodies have not been repealed. There is no sign that the present leaders of the State have given up their atheism, nor has the Church acquired by this election any new rights which had not been previously granted to its members by the Constitution. The Soviet Union has always recognised the right of religious bodies to elect their officials. The Armenian and the Georgian Church have several times held elections of their presiding hierarchs, and the fact that the Russian Church, the largest of all Christian bodies, was not allowed to exercise this right from 1925 till 1943 was due to causes which are not incorporated in the Constitution, but were rooted in the bitter animosity of the leading communists to the Christians.

Thus the election put the Russian Church, not above, but on the same level with other religious bodies in U.S.S.R. There are several weighty reasons which have made this act advisable from the point of view of the present Government.

First of all, the war has awakened most powerfully the love for their country among the Russian people. Russian history is inseparable from their Church. The sight of the poverty and degradation to which it was reduced has begun to hurt even

those young Russian patriots who personally were standing aloof from Christianity. The restoration of the Patriarchate satisfies the growing sense of Russian pride in the past glory of their land which finds such powerful expression in the veneration of the old Christian heroes like St. Alexander Nevsky, Kurma Minin, and Suvorov.

Secondly, it was an act of recognition on the part of the rulers of the important part which the Christians have played in the defence of the country. Millions of fighting men and women, millions of farmers and workers are members of the Church. Many have perished in the battle, and their fellow Christians want to pray for the repose of their souls. They find in Divine worship strength and consolation amidst the horrors and destruction of the present war. The government, however adverse it feels to religion, cannot take away this comfort from the masses of Christian people whose strength of resistance to the enemy springs from the traditional Russian love for the sacred soil of their native land. The restoration of the Patriarchate further cemented national unity, and no government in the midst of war can neglect this all-important factor.

Thirdly, it is easier for the government to deal with a Church which has properly appointed leaders than with a Christian body driven underground, and split into many independent sections.

Fourthly, the Moscow Patriarchs have always been the symbols of the spiritual unity of all Russian people, and their reappearance is bound to facilitate the reunion of those Orthodox, who were not in U.S.S.R. between the two wars, with the rest of the Russian people.

Fifthly, the news of the election is likely to be favourably received by the Orthodox in the Balkans, and to strengthen their traditional links with Moscow.

And finally, it creates a positive impression in the Allied countries, and undermines the German campaign representing their attack on Russia as a Christian crusade.

Such are some of the obvious reasons for the recent steps taken by the Government in regard to the Church. The objective study of the conflict between the godless and the Christians dispels the impression of inconsistency in the attitude of the Russians to religion. The conflict was caused by a clash between those who were sincerely convinced of the harmful and destruc-

tive nature of man's belief in the Creator, and those who were equally sure that God does exist, and that He rules over all the nations.

Certainties and uncertainties of the future

The godless have so far failed to defeat their opponents, and three ways are open to them: a) they can resume their attacks as soon as the war is over; b) they can adhere strictly to the separation between Church and State, and allow to the Christians freedom to live and to pray unmolested within the limits assigned to them by the constitution; c) they can give up atheism altogether. It appears that the members of the Russian Church expect that the Government will pursue the policy of watchful neutrality (described under "b" above) after the end of the war. There are, however, some serious obstacles which are likely to make the adoption of this scheme very difficult. The leaders of the party who preached for so long that the only truth is contained in dialectic materialism, and that Karl Marx is the only true prophet, will find it awkward to accept the policy of religious neutrality, and to declare openly that after all it really does not matter whether anyone believes that the truth is with Christ or with Marx and Lenin. Psychologically it is easier therefore for them to revise drastically their entire doctrinal position, and to give up altogether the creed of atheism. But whatever is the next stage in the relation between the Church and the State in Russia, one fact is established beyond doubt. Atheism has failed to win over the Russian people, and the godless movement, in spite of the support of the omnipotent party, has been unable to force the nation to deny the truth of the Gospel, which has been, and will be, the source of life, happiness, and inspiration for the men and women of the great Russian land.

Christians on the Left

H. Martyn Estall

A book has been written telling us *The Truth about Religion in Russia.* For this we ought to be most grateful. May it serve in some measure to free us of our prejudices. Now if only someone would also write *The Truth about Religion in North America* our gratitude would overflow. It might cure us of our blindness. Unless somehow this can be done we are all, friend and foe of religion alike, in peril of falling into the ditch. The following reflections concern what appear to the author to be convergent tendencies in communism and Christianity. If the approach seems to be too much in terms of general principles and too little in terms of practice, as it is, that is due to the author's ignorance of current practice in the Soviet Union and to his awareness of the confusion in current religious practice in North America. The latter is, as always, so enmeshed in and compromised by matters of political expediency that authentic religious tendencies are not easily discerned. This statement can be most easily documented by turning to the daily press. I find the following items in today's paper. Let the reader assess their real meaning:

> "A new synagogue at Quebec has been set on fire. Evidence points unmistakably to arson. A prominent Jewish official comments: 'This sacrilegious violence is a warning to all Canadians that Nazi race prejudice and anti-religious teaching exist here.' "
>
> "The Communist Party of the U.S.A. dissolved itself yesterday as a political party and was immediately reconstituted as a non-party organization with the political mission of working for 'a more democratic and progressive America'. It called for the continuance of Roosevelt's leadership and the election of a victory Congress, and announced its willingness to shelve its aim of making the U.S. a socialist nation, because there does not exist now in our country an actual or potential majority support for such a programme."

"Professor Oscar Lange of Chicago has received personal assurance from Stalin that Russia wants a strong, independent and democratic Poland. Representative Lesinski asked on the floor of the House of Representatives why Lange and Father Orlemanski had been issued passports. The latter has been suspended from his priestly functions for violation of canon law in connection with his recent visit to the U.S.S.R."

"John Bracken, national leader of the Progressive Conservative Association of Canada, said: 'What we need is not a new religion but a re-statement of the old religion in language that the man on the street can understand. Interpreted, it means a job for every man, fair play for every man, responsibility for every man, equity for farmers, fair treatment for enterprise, opportunity for youth, equality for women, security for the aged, an expanding economy for all, a world of peace for all.' "

Those who can rightly read the signs of the times as disclosed in these bits of news can no doubt also understand aright the significance of the following item:

"Alexei, Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, became acting Patriarch of all Russia today. Alexei addressed a warm personal letter to Stalin as 'a wise leader placed by the Lord over our great nation', in which he undertook 'to follow the canons of church regulations on the one side and constant faithfulness to the motherland and the government headed by you on the other.' Alexei has been awarded the Defence of Leningrad medal for his refusal to leave the city while it was under German siege."

The Christian tradition and left-wing Christianity

It is important to know, in any discussion of the relation between communism and Christianity, something of the speaker's background. Suppose he says, as I shall say, that true religion is altogether concerned with the realisation here and now of true community; that, if it be true, and to the extent that it is true, that the failure to solve the problem of community is the burden of recorded history, then, and to that extent, the record of history is likewise a record of religious failure. Much depends obviously on what he understands by 'community'. Now I do not identify the community with the nation, or sense of community with sense

of belonging to a nation. Nevertheless, one does speak from within a national tradition, however vigorously one may protest its limitations; and one must speak to a contemporary situation which consists of nations in armed and opposite camps. It is a fluid and perplexingly changing situation, within which nations are by no means unchanging, or even the least changing, constants. But it is our habit—still almost incorrigibly our habit—to think from within the national myth, and to construe trans-national relations and conflicts in terms of the same myth. The struggle against fascism thus becomes the struggle against Germany and Japan. Approval of communism becomes allegiance to the Soviet Union. The democratic way is the British way, or the American way. I do not consciously accept these substitutions. Yet neither do I wish to deny or disown the historical circumstances that lead so easily to this kind of identification. Historically and actually they are inescapable and significant. But all such identifications are now inadequate, obsolescent, frustrating to thought and action alike.

The Christian tradition at least offers an older and more inclusive context. Before nations were, it is. Left-wing Christianity cannot easily be incorporated within the orthodox Christian tradition. But I should maintain that at any rate it ought to be as easy to do this as to incorporate modern national myths within that tradition. Later historians may indeed find it *easier* to understand how left-wing Christianity could call itself Christian. And yet, we cannot ignore or forget the era of nationalism. Consequently I must perforce discuss left-wing Christianity as a movement *within* modern nations, revolutionary in its attitude towards their myths, their social practice, and their high policy, yet in spite of itself conditioned by them.

The realisation of community

Left-wing Christianity formulates its definition of the true character of human community in terms derivative from the Christian tradition. Community is a tissue of personal relationships, wherein the dignity and the worth of human personality are cherished, wherein men can and do love one another. On the other hand it derives from Marxist philosophy its present understanding of the conditions for maximal realisation within history of such community. Marxist thought discerns and analyses the conditions which have hitherto limited the scope

within which the ideal of community was even imperfectly realisable. This analysis of society indicates, for example, that capitalism construes men who sell their labor, not as men, but as commodities. This de-personalises all human relationships grounded in and arising from production and exchange. But these relations are basic, in the sense that without them human life does not go on. Consequently capitalism progressively imperils all personal relations.

This is to make a value judgment about capitalism, to condemn it indeed as irreligious. But Marxism does more. Its philosophy of history undertakes to exhibit historical solutions of the problem of economic production as successively and increasingly self-destructive. Yet at the same time they have resulted in such a tissue of technical achievements and cultural resources and human interdependence that the original problem—of economic production—can now be tackled on a world scale and must be solved. Hitherto all historical solutions have broken down because they have exploited man as part of nature. Only now has it become possible, indeed necessary, to exploit nature without exploiting man. This is to make a judgment of fact with respect to the natural world within which man lives: to hold that it can be made to fulfil man's material needs, but that it does in the course of history destroy all systems of production that negate that intention. The conclusion reached is that, unless the problem of economic production is resolved, community is unrealisable.

Notice what this does *not* say. It does not say that the realisation of community is identical with the resolution of the problem of economic production. It does not make the achievement of community automatic, once the economic problem is resolved. It does not deny anticipations and partial enjoyment of real community within the limits set by defective solutions of the economic problem. Rather it assigns to man a privileged position in the order of nature, envisages the possibility of exploring and realising the full meaning of human nature, but observes—and purports to produce historical evidence for it—that this cannot happen if men mistake their privileged position in nature to imply privileged positions over their fellows, at any rate in respect of their ownership and control of the means of production.

The common intention of Christianity and communism

It is not possible, within the space available, to attempt historical justification for the thesis that Christian and communist intentions are convergent. Few voices have been heard in the past (John Macmurray's was one of the first) suggesting such a view, or seeking to find common ground on which both might stand. Suddenly to discover such things now in the stress of war may seem superficial or opportunistic. Both are now thrown together by reason of their common opposition to fascism. But what else have they in common? Assuming the Western democracies to be heirs, in respect of their social ideals, of the Christian tradition (here appears just such an implicit identification as the reader must be on his guard against), it is possible to say that present communistic and democratic régimes alike are faced with a common problem: how to use *power* for the realisation and preservation of *community*. The incomplete achievements of both towards the solution of this problem are complementary. They contain perhaps the elements of an eventual synthesis. This is what makes possible their joint defence. This is why their present alliance in arms is of momentous, though precarious, significance in human history.

But this problem concerning the use of power is a political problem. Are we to seek a religious or a secular solution to it? In the past, communism has been avowedly anti-religious both in theory and practice. Christianity is nothing if not religious. How then can they be expected to move together towards a solution, or to understand each other in the process?

Bergson's analysis of religion[1] may help us to prepare an answer to our problem, though our thesis—that a common intention is discernible as between communism and Christianity—would no doubt have been repudiated by Bergson himself. Bergson recognises and differentiates two types of religion: one conservative, the other creative; one expressing, conserving, and sanctifying the values inherent in a closed society, the other consisting of the insights and the dynamic of the mystics.

Left-wing Christianity easily assents to the correctness of this description of religion as exhibiting a double pattern; it can discern the soundness of the contrast between the closed and the open society; it need not quarrel seriously with Bergson's account

[1] Bergson—*Two Sources of Morality and Religion.*

of static religion; but it would cast the prophet rather than the mystic in the dynamic religious role; and it demands a more adequate attempt to account for the effort arising within the closed society to realise dynamic and creative possibilities recognised as present. The conception and birth of the new in and from the womb of the old—the metaphor is defective because organic—are perhaps neither so immaculate nor so mysterious as Bergson, for all his pre-occupation with biology, makes them out to be.

This disagreement is neither merely verbal nor deliberately perverse. It is true that Bergson's account of genuine or mature mysticism is psychologically profound. A mysticism which fails to issue in action, which with Plotinus regards action as a weakening of contemplation, is explicitly recognised as incomplete. "Something remains outside; that something is the will, whence its action, if it acted, would quite naturally proceed." Hence "none of the rapture was lasting, because it was mere contemplation; action threw the soul back on itself and thus divorced it from God." Yet Bergson hesitates to call the Hebrew prophets mystics, precisely because of their acute sense of the *distance* between themselves and God. Now this observation is undoubtedly correct, but unintelligible on Bergson's analysis. For the prophets *acted,* and in their action were agents of God. Action narrowed the distance between them and God. The action demanded was a return to God, usually involving first a change of direction as pre-requisite to reducing the distance. Only in the wilderness, in solitude and contemplation, were they actually aware of their separation from God. It is fair therefore to ask Bergson which he recognises as the more authentically religious: the mystic's absorption in God, or the prophet's cry for justice. If the latter can (characteristically) occur without the former, why insist that the former is integral to dynamic religion?

Left-wing Christianity, then, acknowledges the historical tendency to dualism in religion, but regards the contrast between the priest and the prophet as more significant for an understanding of the nature of religion than the contrast between priest and mystic. In two respects, however, this analysis is still incomplete.

a) The office of the priest in a class-structured society is to obscure internal cleavages in the closed society by means of a

tissue of ritual, dogma and creed curiously compacted of supernatural and traditional components. It diverts concern from present social reality by means of an ideological smoke screen of illusions concerning social origins and individual destiny. Thus *static* religion is itself necessarily dualistic, because it stands in opposition to the disruptive and eruptive forces appearing within the closed society.

b) The office of the prophet is to resist the secularisation of social relationships, to demand that religion be continuously relevant to contemporary human situations, to denounce priestly obscurantism and connivance in human exploitation. The prophet may understand the vectors currently appearing in his society as little as—even less than—his enemy, the priest. His vision of the good society may be utopian, or nostalgic. But his intention is to right existing wrong.

The original function of religion

This long parenthesis about Bergson is included with a twofold purpose. First, as a reminder, that other writers have recognised the ambivalent character of Christianity. Second, to suggest that this recognition ought to be made by communist writers on religion. In its absence their account is faulty, though not necessarily faulty with respect to those features of religion they are most concerned to reject. The recognition of two kinds of religion is of course essential to left-wing Christianity. Bergson thinks of these as wholly different, not seeing that the differentiation between positive and negative religion can be made historically intelligible only in relation to its changed and changing functions as the structure of society itself changes. Left-wing Christianity has learned its sociology from Marxism. It would rectify the omission from orthodox Marxism of any appreciation of the dialectical character of religion.

In order to do this it has first to locate the origins of religion within human experience. Religion is natural, not super-natural, in origin. It qualifies and celebrates experienced human relations. It is the expression, imaginatively and reflectively, of the meaning of men for one another. It is the recognition of the distinctively human in one's fellows, and the realisation of the distinctively human in oneself, through experience of and participation in a web of relationships themselves distinctively human.

What then is distinctively human? *Men work together.* The history of religion will therefore exhibit a pattern instructively comparable with the changing pattern of *working* relationships among men. Men *elaborate* ideas, in relation to their work, thereby improving their practice, lightening their tasks, economising effort, anticipating consequences and planning how to meet them or escape from them. Marx put it as follows:

> "Men . . . begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organization. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life. . . . The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life."

All the phenomena of "objective spirit" are thus originally relevant to the productive, working relations between men and their materials. Religion is included here. Once in existence, this cultural superstructure is capable of a movement of its own, and will itself react upon economically productive forces and relations. To religion Marx then assigns the restricted role of sanctifying existing social relations. But these, historically, develop into class relations and continue so amid all the productive transformations of European history. That is to say, they are no longer simple face-to-face working relations, but a complex of relations a) within the class that continues to work, while deprived of the enjoyment of much of the produce, b) within the smaller class of those who no longer need to work because they can now enjoy products in virtue of their control of effective means of production—slaves, land, tools, machines, and c) between these two classes.

Under these conditions the one class elaborates a religion of yearning, of aspiration; the other class may devise two religions, one for themselves—a sophisticated religion of contemplation or heroism appropriate to their own mode of life—and one whose function it is to camouflage the real nature of the bond between themselves and those who do the work. If this can be fused with the frustrated yearnings of the exploited class, so as to seem to satisfy them, then the process of sanctification is

eminently successful. It helps to stabilise existing social inequality. It is *this* which Marx identifies as *religion:*

> "Merely to deny religion is futile. It is a dialectical result of man's essential nature being negated by the material conditions of life."

and again:

> "It is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the kindliness of a heartless world, the spirit of unspiritual conditions. . . . Criticism of religion is therefore at heart a criticism of the vale of misery for which religion is the promised vision. Criticism has torn away the imaginary flowers with which his chains were bedecked, not in order that man should wear his chains without the comfort of illusions, but that he may throw off the chains and pluck the living flowers. Criticism of religion disillusions man so that he may think, act and shape his reality as one who is disillusioned and come to full understanding, so that he may move on his own axis and thus be his own sun. Religion is but the false sun which revolves around him while he is not yet fully self-aware."

Must religion become dualistic? Having become so must it remain so? Most religious people will repudiate the inclusion of religion within ideology, in the sense just described, for this denies the transcendental reference of its doctrines and its institutions. But, accepting the thesis, what does this mean in a primitive society, prior to any stratification of classes or any extensive division of labour? Within such a society religion celebrates an experience of community which may be crude, but which is jointly shared and is direct. Normally, to be sure, the emergence of a class-structured society has necessitated changes in this original sense of community. If however this original function of religion were to be retained and developed within the tradition of an economy that did not become class-structured, then we should have a religion that was not simply one of aspiration, or of contemplation, or of camouflage, but one still celebrating in more imaginative and reflective ways the possibilities and the actualities of the common life.

This is the thesis developed by Macmurray in *The Clue to History*. The early history of the Jews uniquely exemplifies this possibility. On balance, the Jews successfully resisted the drift

towards caste and class-cleavage. It was possible and natural to formulate a doctrine of God as worker—"My Father worketh hitherto and I work"—to retain as authentic and not merely symbolic or gestural the requirement that every man have a trade, to get along without any sophisticated theory of immortality, etc. Macmurray's thesis, in brief, is that the history of Jewry, prior at any rate to the time of Jesus, constituted a persistent and largely successful effort to develop a well-advanced economy without succumbing to the evils of class-conflict; that correlatively they developed the reflective and creative possibilities of the sense of community without breaking its inner bond or its secure grounding in common practice; and that Jesus and through him Christianity became the heir to this mature religion. Left-wing Christianity thus claims to recover the Hebrew-Christian religious attitude, and to continue in the present the ever-recurring prophetic insistence on its social reference and sources.

The causes of duality in religion

There will be many criticisms of such a view of religion. There is room in this paper for brief reference to one only. Left-wing Christians tend to make a blanket charge of "dualism" against the kinds of Christianity they oppose or dislike. But, it will be said,[1] religion that is real (and revolutionary) is bound to be dualistic. Vedantic Hinduism is perhaps the most clearly monistic religion. Yet nothing could less appropriately exemplify the kind of religion left-wing Christians seem to want.

Let us be clear what is at issue. Wherever two aspects of life which belong together are separated, there is dualism. Thus, if theory and practice properly belong together, the one enlightening the other, the latter verifying the former, any effort or tendency to keep them apart will falsify and stultify both, and may properly be stigmatised as dualistic. One may go on from this point to enquire as to the causes of such separation. In this paper that enquiry has been answered in terms of the history of social separation into classes. The cause *of* the *separation,* be it noted, not the cause that theory *differs* from practice.

The particular examples of course that gravely trouble the theologians are those of matter and spirit, natural and supernatural. Reference to these is instructive because it becomes

[1] Cf. Bevan, *Revolutionary Religion.*

apparent that they are not, all of them, strictly comparable antitheses. That theory and practice belong together is an assertion concerning empirically identifiable processes. It is empirically verifiable that practice unenlightened by theory becomes routine and rigid and breaks down in the presence of the unfamiliar; while pure theory becomes speculative and remote. There is likewise an everyday empirical basis for the contrast between matter and mind. But empirical foundations become more slender and precarious in respect of the contrast between natural and supernatural, between mortal and immortal, between temporal and eternal. Hence the problem here is not simply that of accounting for a radical separation of features of experience that properly belong together, but of taking a pervasive aspect of human experience and contrasting it with a pseudo-characteristic defined by negating the given one. The clue, provided by Marx, is that such theorising is symptomatic of something else. It tells us in effect that man's nature is being denied, that mortality has become insupportable, that men cannot abide things temporal. What we are told about the life beyond—green pastures, golden slippers, rest for the weary, a house with many mansions, a city that hath foundations—tells us also of things denied to men here and now. Such an interpretation by no means disproves the validity of the belief in immortality. The only accessible experimental procedure here would seem to be to deal directly with the human situation: to create a social order that secures fruitful gardens, clothing, humane conditions of labour, adequate housing, the material foundations of community life. Let us see what this does to the content and the strength of the belief in question.

Finally, I should like to touch on the question of *adherence* to Marxism. Belief in revolutionary socialism does not commit one to belief in the verbal inspiration and infallibility of Marxist sources, still less to any dogma of apostolic succession. Sociologically and psychologically pseudo-Marxism is interestingly comparable to pseudo-Christianity. It is not in the least surprising that it should occur. Macmurray is dissatisfied with the communist conception of personal relations as organic. He fails to find in their practice any effective limitation of political authority. He repudiates their treatment of all religion as necessarily supernatural, and therefore a tissue of illusions reactionary in social impact. All these errors, if errors they be, can be corrected. But all errors are not equal in magnitude or gravity.

Let two quotations explain. Aldous Huxley (*After Many a Summer Dies the Swan*) introduces a reference to Barcelona, then under siege:

> "Captured or uncaptured, every city and nation has its being on the plane of the absence of God. Has its being on the plane of the absence of God, and is therefore fore-doomed to perpetual self-stultification, to endlessly reiterated attempts at self-destruction."

Three pages later the logical conclusion of this pessimism about human society is reached:

> "God is completely present only in the complete absence of what we call our humanity."

This is what a secular writer makes of the doctrine of the complete otherness of God. I reject it as defeatist and irresponsible:

> "All errors are not equal. The hatred of our enemies
> Is the destructive self-love of the dying,
> Our hatred is the price of the world's freedom . . .
> The world of faults and suffering and death,
> The world where love has its existence in our time,
> Its struggle with the world, love's source and object."

All errors are not equal. Love has its locus in the world. Religion is about human relationships. Religion is integral to the effort to achieve adequate human community.

Social and Political Forces of Tomorrow[1]

A European critique

W. A. Visser 't Hooft

What are the forces of tomorrow? What changes has the war made in the balance-sheet of politics, both socially and ideologically?

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The landslide in society

From the point of view of society the war has produced a landslide in which we can detect three factors: 1) the bankruptcy and collapse of the bourgeoisie in many countries; 2) the manifestation of the preponderant role of the workers in modern society; 3) the new prestige of communism.

With regard to the first of these, the bourgeoisie was already in an enfeebled condition before the war. Everywhere the gradual disappearance of a middle class was to be seen. During the war this phenomenon has become enormously accentuated. The extreme case is Germany where we may speak of an actual proletarianisation of the bourgeoisie thanks to the suppression of artisanship and of many independent professions. But elsewhere the general impoverishment and industrialisation, and the concentration of enterprises are having and will continue to have the same effects. One must add that the bourgeoisie lost the opportunity of rehabilitating itself. In the countries dominated by nazism and fascism the bourgeoisie gave no signs that it still believed in its traditonal mission of the defence of liberty, and frequently limited its efforts to defending its own financial interests by undistinguished methods and dishonourable compromise.

At the same time the workers are more than ever at the centre of the situation. In this war of production they have borne a

[1] Condensed from an address given to the ecumenical study week in Switzerland, January, 1944.

crucial responsibility. They have had to endure long working-hours, deportation, hunger, and their burden has been harder than that of others. They have come to realise that they represent the real power of the nations. They know now that proletarian unemployment and misery can be overcome; and they say to themselves that what is possible in wartime must be much more possible in time of peace. Undoubtedly they will not allow themselves to be pushed back into an inferior place.

At the same time Russia, the land of the proletarian régime, has gained unprecedented prestige. The fact that this country is manifesting a cohesion and a productive power which are without rival, gives a new position in the world to both communist theories and to the entire class of the workers. And, as so many of the arguments which were raised against the soviet régime have been proved false, no argument against it makes any further impression.

After being kept apart for years from the bourgeois nations and having surrounded herself with a wall of distrust Russia has now decided to exploit to the fullest extent possible the historic hour which has struck for her. She seems to stand ready to play to the full the role to which she has won the right by her prodigious successes and her enormous sacrifices. And this role she will play in every realm, not less the ideological realm than those of economics and politics.

Then, confronting Russia—and confronting her in more senses than one—stands the United States of America, which is learning for the first time in history that a great power cannot live in permanent isolation and is now fully decided to throw all its weight into the balance. And here too it is not only a case of political or economic weight, but also ideological weight. In the world of tomorrow the two great propagandist and "missionary" and (in the most general sense of the word) "imperialist" powers will be "non-European" powers, a situation unknown by the world since the beginning of the Middle Ages.

The forces of tomorrow

Let us now try to define the ideologies, the forces, which will have the greatest influence in the world after the war. I can see three, which I shall call "liberalism", "socialism", and "communism". We shall soon see that these three forces are more or less incarnate in certain countries. But as they are at the same

time international forces which penetrate almost everywhere, we shall first of all consider them in isolation.

1. *Liberalism* is the oldest of these ideas. Some people even think it is too old to have much life left in it. On the other hand I believe that its reign is not altogether finished and that it may even be one of the powerful forces in the world of tomorrow. That does not mean it will appear under precisely the same guise as it wore yesterday. There will be no room in the disorganised, complicated world after the war for a liberalism that has nothing to say but *laissez-faire, laissez-aller.* But a liberalism which is somewhat altered and adapted to circumstances might still have a future.

Such a liberalism will accept the principle of planning, and a directed economy. It will fight against some of the excesses of capitalistic anarchy; it will accept a fairly advanced social legislation; it will work out methods of economic collaboration between the nations. Thus it will not be the orthodox liberalism of earlier days.

But it will watch with jealous eye to see that economics are guided by men who will respect private initiative all along the line and who will not impede the liberty of middleman or capitalist. In this way an economy controlled on liberal lines may actually increase the power of capital, and will not change the relations between capitalist, middleman and worker. Subjectively these liberals will be convinced that they are thus serving the interests of all. For their faith in the inherent harmony of the economic process is not yet shaken. Economic forces, they believe, will end in creating general prosperity, and questions of society will automatically solve themselves if political obstacles do not block the road to prosperity. Civic freedom can only prevail in a society where private initiative is untrammeled. Therefore we must take up our position against every attempt to limit economic liberty from above (the state) or from beneath (responsibilities towards the workers).

This liberalism lives today as it always does on a sort of rationalist idealism mixed with a great deal of hypocrisy, which believes in the power of human reason, which will not admit the reality of sin (in particular the sin of thirst for power), and which thus justifies a form of freedom which has now become wholly theoretical and abstract, but which is of benefit to certain classes of the community.

2. *Communism* is the youngest and the most vigorous of the three ideas. It wears the halo of success in one great country, and has not yet had the opportunity to compromise itself in the others. It has played and is playing a pre-eminent part in resisting invasion for it was accustomed to illegal organisation. And since it had learnt the spirit of sacrifice for the cause, it has contributed heroes of resistance more than has any other group. Its promises and its propaganda have therefore considerable attractive power. It demands that all forms of production be socialised. In its view the directed economy of the liberals is no better than a re-enforcement of trusts and monopolies, and the "plan" of the socialists but a half-measure. On this matter it admits of no compromise. No price is too great to pay for this end, as it is only in a rigorously socialised society that one can talk of social equality and of equal opportunity for all. So it is ready to sacrifice all the so-called democratic liberties. It values its liberties, it uses them and inscribes them in its programmes, but wherever they oppose obstacles to the end they must be set aside. Economic freedom is considered the crucial freedom. Freedom means to communism not the absence of restraint, but the possibility of acting according to one's capactities. Political freedom which is so dear to the democrats only touches one aspect of life, and that an aspect of lesser importance. Communism believes that its mission is to bring in a freedom which is greatly more substantial, even if it begins with a period of political restraint.

These principles remain unchanged and are everywhere the basis of communist propaganda. At the same time the party shows an astonishing flexibility in other domains. So the communist party scarcely speaks now of class-warfare; in many countries it manifests an almost exaggerated patriotism; it makes advances to the Christians. The communist party in Holland says: "We deny the existence of God. But we recognise the right of other people to propagate their convictions. If the Christians will apply their conception of love of their neighbour then the basis of collaboration exists. We too will try to apply it. Let us admit that we have not always been tactful in this respect. But we do ask of Christians a more objective attitude, so that we may reach collaboration in the social realm."

Is this hypocrisy, opportunist tactics? It all depends on the meaning given to these words. In dialectical thought these conceptions do not have the same meaning as they have in "bour-

geois" thought. Everything is tactics, because everything must serve the movement in the one direction which counts. Values which are eternal, permanent, transcendent, do not exist. Morality is a social product, and therefore must by definition be opportunist.

Herein lies the power of communism. It adapts itself to all circumstances. It is held back by no principles, by no historic tie. The one fixed point is the social aim of an egalitarian community. But that is also its weakness. For wherever men still choose to live as responsible beings in the sight of God and in their own sight, wherever men feel themselves to be more than the creatures of society, their communism finds boundaries that it cannot cross. Its methods which demand the prostitution of the individual conscience repel all who have still a personality to lose. It is for this reason that the British Labour Party—in spite of its enthusiasm for the social victories in Russia—has rejected affiliation with the communist party by a crushing majority. That is why we shall never see a communist system established for long in the countries where true European traditions are still alive and where disintegration has not transformed workers and peasants into a depersonalised mass.

3. *Socialism* in its present form is more difficult to define. Since its beginnings the socialist movement has passed through so many transformations and has taken so many forms in different countries that it has become almost impossible to define. Yet a certain socialist atmosphere does exist and is more and more widely spread abroad. It is a fact of particular importance that socialism has ceased to be a class affair. The feeling that the capitalist age is nearing its end is shared by men in all social groupings. The war has forcefully contributed to this conviction. So we are all now able to watch over the working out of plans and systems which take a clearly socialist direction.

What then is the common denominator of these systems? They all aim at conquering capitalist anarchy, not only by means of a certain degree of reorganisation and co-ordination of economic forces, but also by means of a radical social transformation, that is to say by making those who control the chief means of production clearly responsible to the community, and by making democracy effective in the economic sphere. They see the economic and social problem primarily not merely in technical and economic terms, but also in human terms. They are concerned with justice and with social security, and these objects can never

be obtained if full liberty is left to economic forces. This socialism then sanctions a controlled and guided economy. But it will not sacrifice democratic liberties to a system of general control by the state. It seeks rather to establish a plan of a directed economy in which the state will be the co-ordinating factor, in which responsibilities are decentralised and organs of control are democratically constituted. In this way it hopes to avoid both the Scylla of communist state-control and the Charybdis of liberal disorder.

The main question is whether in the complex world of today, such a state organisation can succeed. For it is obvious that in such a system the line of least resistance will of necessity be to give the state freedom of action in all realms where social organisms do not seem to be equal to their task. This is why the crucial question is whether this socialism possesses a firm enough ideological basis to succeed in defending the individual's interests against the conscious or unconscious totalitarianism of the modern social state. Herein lies the weakness of the situation. For it seems to be the case that in the ranks of the supporters of socialism there are still very few who understand the decisive importance of the ideological and spiritual problem and declare their allegiance to it. Too many socialists are still living by a vague rationalistic humanism, are still attached to that naïve and dangerous conception of a natural social harmony which they have inherited from liberalism, and which is wholly inadequate as a basis for socialist experiments. The problem of social justice is far more than the technical problem of freeing men from social insecurity. It is not possible to exorcise the devils of state-omnipotence or of the security offered by a Grand Inquisitor by preaching that men are naturally brothers and by glorifying human reason. They can only be exorcised by the message that the individual belongs to One who is above the state, and that he has been purchased at too high a price ever to become a mere object of the state's pleasure.

The national setting of the forces of tomorrow

Let us now be more concrete, and attempt to *localise* these forces. We shall not succeed in doing this completely, since there is no country which can be classified as wholly liberal, wholly socialist, or wholly communist. What strikes us in all the national situations is that the countries are in a state of transition, on their

way from one position to another. But we shall find none the less that certain countries represent in a peculiar fashion one of the three ideologies.

The United States of America

Let us begin with the United States of America. We may say at once that this country was destined to become the country of liberalism. The fact that they have been able to discover, to exploit, and to organise an entire continent without the restraint of historical or feudal ties has convinced the Americans that the free play of social forces ends by arranging everything. Was it not the case that any newspaper seller might end as a millionaire? This conviction has become so deeply rooted in American thought that it was not shaken when circumstances changed, when the pioneer period neared its end, when the newspaper seller was more likely to be unemployed than to become a millionaire, when classes began to arise that jealously disputed their own prerogatives. And so faith in freedom as the first and last word of economic wisdom is still living in spite of all appearances that contradict it. For the United States has not yet passed through a crisis where the very foundations of the prevalent system are called in question. The crisis of 1929, the alarming growth of unemployment, the waves of strikes have certainly shown that the social question has become a burning one; but these events have not yet convinced the great mass of Americans that a radical change is necessary. The war—a distant war which has not yet touched the roots of the American order—does not yet mean for the States what it has come to mean for Europe and Britain, the end of the liberal-bourgeois era.

It is true that prophetic voices are heard, that both in the churches and among workers and intellectuals attacks of increasing severity are being made upon the existing order of things. But so far their strength seems scarcely strong enough to shake the liberal edifice. There is as yet no sufficiently solid counter-weight against liberal ideology. The churches are beginning to emerge slowly from the atmosphere of positivism and liberal optimism, but they have not yet fully broken with the principles of bourgeois culture.

So we must expect that in the world of tomorrow the United States will be the spokesman, and almost the only spokesman, of the principles of liberalism and of a capitalism which is more or

less adapted to modern needs. Their remarkable success in war-production, their economic power will be signs to them that their system is more alive than ever and that it has immense future possibilities. They will not, to be sure, limit their efforts to the defence of it; they will also make efforts to get it accepted as a basis for world-economic and social organisation. This is not to suggest that they will consider the world solely as a vast field to be exploited. For their idealism is not merely, as too many Europeans fancy, hypocrisy which masks the worship of the dollar. This idealism exists and will be made manifest in many works of rescue and social betterment.

And yet the tragic problem of the lack of synchronisation remains a truly agonising one. At a moment when Europe (and perhaps Asia) is turning away from liberalism, an America which is more powerful than ever before is preparing herself to propagate it with a new zeal. We must make every effort to explain to Americans that Europe is *at a different moment* in the historical process; and happily there are some Americans who understand. At the same time we must explain to Europeans that they must not despise what they themselves still worshipped yesterday, and that it is not possible to produce by artificial means the disillusion which results in new solutions.

Russia

Now let us turn to Russia. Do we need to say anything more about Russia? Is it not enough to say it is the country of communism? No. Today Russia stands for something *more* and something *other* than that. Therein lies our great misunderstanding of Russia. We have seen it only as the communist country; we have not understood that since 1917 Russia is also and above all a great power awakening after centuries of lethargy. To be sure communism gave it the first shock. But the results of the shock have gone far beyond the initiative and the intentions of communism.

The Russian phenomenon is not only an ideological and social phenomenon, it is also a national phenomenon. Russia does not mean to the world merely communist propaganda; it also means the appearance of the Slav world on the stage as a dynamic element in the international situation. Dostoevsky was right: they have their decisive word still to speak.

The Russian revival began with Leninism, a voluntarist,

dictatorial, state edition of the original Marxism. Not only were Marxist doctrines to be applied, but first of all the conditions must be created without which Marxism meant nothing—that is to say a nation of workers must be created, an agricultural country must be industrialised. This meant that the unthinking masses of Russia began to think about their potential force. Communist mysticism was wedded to a mysticism of the community which had always existed in the Russian soul, but which had had no concrete means of expression. As Sydney and Beatrice Webb have put it: It is a question of "secularised fellowship (*sobornost*)". There was no individual salvation. All salvation is universal: "The individual is only the group in one of its manifestations." And the group is today—and particularly since the invasion—Holy Russia, the beloved earth which the heroes of Dostoevsky love so passionately that they cannot resist kissing it.

So Russia is now at the very moment of transition from international Marxism to national messianism. It is still the motherland of communism, but the accent rests on *motherland*. The fate of communism in other countries interests Russia less than the reinforcement of its own positions, and if conflict arises, as often happens, the Russian interest comes first. Hence the *volte-face* of the Kremlin during these past years is easily explained. The Third International is superfluous, it is even an encumbrance; for Russia itself is the entire cause. Russia is powerful enough and has enough prestige to do without intermediaries.

The singing of a national hymn glorifying the power and heroism of the nation has taken the place of the Internationale, the hymn of the proletariat. Henceforth Russia represents ideologically a curious mixture of Marxist naturalism with the old Slav pantheism which glorifies the people and the land. This is an ideology far sounder than that of nazism, since its roots run back deep into history and its thinkers have been of the first rank; hence an ideology of sufficient grandeur to nourish a great people for a long period of time; yet at the same time an ideology which is dangerous and explosive by very reason of its mystical power.

Much will depend upon the attitude of the Russian Church to the new nationalism. If the Church accepts or even blesses the messianism of the new Russia, if it is willing to pay for the relative freedom it once more possesses by attaching itself wholly to the state and its ideology, the future of Russia is charged with vast spiritual dangers. But if the Church fulfils its function of

watchman and represents the Kingdom which is above the State, it may be that Russia will become aware of the limits set by God which cannot be crossed. In any case Russian ideology is becoming so specifically Russian that it is impossible to foretell in what way it may yet exert any great influence beyond Slav territory.

Will Russia, known to the world as the cradle of communism, representing today a great dynamic power *as well as* communism—will this Russia end by meaning no more to us than *just* Russia? We cannot tell, but we do know that the communist parties will soon have to choose between two possibilities, either to be mere spokesmen of an imperialist policy in a foreign land, or else national parties which accept the general bases of national traditions. There are signs which indicate that in not a few countries the parties will choose the second possibility.

Great Britain

Let us come now to Great Britain. This age-old stronghold of liberalism is going through a remarkable transformation. The great shock of 1940 has not passed without leaving profound marks. At that time the British people stood firm thanks to the sacrifices and tenacity of the entire nation, but in particular of the workers. The debt of the nation to them cannot be forgotten. In any case the workers have given proof of their power. At the same time they have been very deeply impressed by the Russian example—and not the least because it was Russia that saved Britain. That is the reason why great changes in the social order have become inevitable. The conviction of the necessity for these changes is not only to be found in the Labour Party, but equally among the Conservatives. That does not of course mean that there will be no struggle. For the moment Great Britain has a directed economy, but it is still directed to a large extent by big business under the control of the State. And it is probable that after the war those in power will make a great effort to regain their freedom, and that at the very moment when the workers will exact the realisation of promises made during the war. There will probably, therefore, still be periods of great social tension.

It does however seem as if the political and social evolution has proceeded so far that a half-turn is no longer possible. For the general atmosphere has become one of a moderate socialism, that is to say of a socialism which respects the traditional British liberties. The Church and the intellectual classes are taking up

their position more and more definitely for this solution. The slogan is "planning for freedom". In this way Britain will have the opportunity to show us whether a middle course between capitalist anarchy and communist state-control is possible, and if social security is compatible with spiritual freedom. The Beveridge plan marks a stage along this road.

Here then everything will depend upon the spiritual and ideological forces which can be mobilised in defence of personal values. In this respect the situation is scarcely reassuring. It is true that the British have lost many illusions and have become more realist in their conception of political and social realities. Faith in a natural harmony underlying economic forces has received a severe blow. But there is no sign that political and social thought have found new bases. It would be wrong to talk of a general reawakening of spiritual forces. The groups which see the extent and depth of the present crisis have not yet succeeded in reaching the masses. The Church is listened to, when it speaks of social justice, but much less when it speaks of the Christian faith on which this justice must be founded.

Great Britain still has a great fund of "diffused Christianity", that is of a sort of Christian morality which exerts a real influence in the social sphere, but which runs an ever-increasing risk of losing its roots. The great question is whether this diffused Chrisianity can be transformed into a concentrated Christianity which lives by the power of the Gospel.

The Continent of Europe

The Europe which counts is the Europe which is today resisting the political and spiritual invasion of national-socialism. I am speaking of those who resist in all fields either with or without arms. It is because of the struggle of these men and women that it is still possible to believe in a future for Europe. In those countries which have been ill-treated, impoverished, proletarianised, where totalitarianism or total war have destroyed so many ordered homes and so many centres of social creativeness, there is still a "remnant" which stands fast and prepares for the future.

What are the convictions and the hopes that inspire these groups? In the first place there is deep desire to achieve a true and radical renewal of the social order. They are looking for a social community that is based on justice and social security. These people have realised that their struggle has no meaning

unless it brings a solution of the crisis which gave birth to nazism. It is in Europe that the crisis broke out and that the disillusion with freedom has become epidemic. So in Europe it must be overcome.

But Europe will less than ever stand alone in the world. Ideologies protected by the great powers will work upon it. It will need to think and act in terms of the dominant "forces". Will it not be driven to choose between Moscow, London and New York? Must it not decide either for the dynamic concrete solutions offered by Russia, the prosperity that comes from the United States, or the stability of the British *via media?*

We may therefore say that the great question facing continental Europe is whether it wishes to become the battlefield of great ideologies which come from without or a laboratory where, not without learning what can be learned from others, truly European solutions are worked out. This does not raise the question of continental nationalism. It is rather a question of finding solutions which are appropriate to the European condition today. For none of the three systems mentioned is sufficient in itself to solve the fundamental problem of a continent which has passed through a crisis more profound than any other part of the world. Europe is in need of a more revolutionary transformation than any offered by the systems which the dominant great powers are propagating. The vacuum, the void of the masses, has become so vast that no technical solution from outside can fill it. Europe can only live again if it discovers new spiritual and moral roots. If it cannot find them it must capitulate unconditionally to one or another of these non-European ideologies; which will mean that it will no longer live (as Europe), that its real problems will not be solved, and that as a cultural unity and spiritual centre it will cease to exist. If on the other hand it rediscovers its roots, it will still have a voice of its own; it will make use of whatever the non-European forces have to offer, but it will do so in its own way and by the light of convictions of its own. And these it will judge not by exterior results, but by their capacity to answer the fundamental needs of the European masses, needs which are still more spiritual than they are economic.

May we hope that Europe will rediscover spiritual roots for itself? For the moment we must admit that indications are contradictory. On the one hand we see an unprecedented dechristianisation and paganisation, millions of young people living today

in a nihilist atmosphere. And I am not speaking only of those who are under the direct influence of nazism but of those also who are unconsciously subject to its influence. It is clear that certain aspects of national-socialism will continue to exert their evil influence long after the war.

But on the other hand we see that many men are rediscovering the road to the Church, and that the militant churches find an echo among their people which they have not had for years. So there is no reason to be either too optimistic or too pessimistic. It suffices to know that the doors are not shut.

Critical conclusions

We must first of all admit that the three main solutions suggested have this in common, that all three are to a great extent inspired by a rationalist, anthropocentric conception of human life. In spite of all their differences, and of the separate and uprooted elements of the Christian tradition which they enshrine, they do belong to the same family, which springs from the Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment. They still believe in a *social harmony* which is immanent and inherent in nature itself and in humanity. This harmony is obscured by irrational forces which must be overcome by *reason.*

In this way liberalism seeks to create harmony by liberating economic forces and giving them an opportunity of expressing themselves; socialism believes that it can so canalise and guide these forces that a harmonious order will ensue; while communism, though oppressing freedom for the time-being, is yet convinced that through constraint it will in the end find the solution of universal justice.

Must we not then admit that the three systems are all involved in the tragedy of bourgeois thought? Are they not all bound up with an optimistic and idealistic ideology which contradicts revelation and which has become untenable after the terrible warnings we have received during the past thirty years? Indeed the solutions offered us are not really new solutions which have been worked out by men whom the great judgment of these past years has overwhelmed and purified. They have not yet taken seriously enough this manifestation of the bewildering fact that political and social man cannot live by reason alone, that rationalism calls forth the rebellion of the instincts against reason, and that this rebellion in the end destroys its own offspring.

The nature of man

The new realism which expresses itself in the criticism of the utopias of 1918, and of the period of the League of Nations, does not go far enough to reach the heart of the problem, which is the nature of man. It is not enough to reinforce the international organism by an international army, but rather to reinforce it by restoring respect for the commandments without which all human society must founder. If we go on searching for "technical" solutions, we are in danger of helping to propagate a new utopianism which, if perhaps a little less naïve, a little less clamant, will be almost as dangerous as the old. For so long as we do not take seriously the problem of problems, which is the subjection of our reason to demonic forces, to the thirst of power and to pride, we shall only be building castles in the air. It is terrifying to think that this entire war with its apocalyptic destruction and atrocities, has not been enough to dethrone the *hubris* (insolence) of modern man. Must God then take still stronger measures?

Yet we must also recognise that the three systems are all beginning to find that their ideology is not wholly adequate to the situation. In all three we notice a kind of ideological crisis, a fundamental uncertainty as to the basis of their political and social thought. Liberalism has no longer thinkers who are comparable to the men who gave it its substance a century ago. It has already lost the intellectual battle and only goes on living on its tradition and economic power. British socialism, originally rooted in Nonconformist Christian thought, but gradually becoming more and more secularised, is now seeking new roots. Continental socialism has turned away from its Marxist origins, but has not so far found any new basis and so limits itself to proclaiming technical social solutions. Communism still seems to be firmly attached to its philosophy of dialectic materialism, but in fact it accepts so many elements which are foreign to this philosophy that it also seems to be heading for an ideological crisis.

And so we find ourselves—ideologically speaking—before an immense vacuum, a vacuum which terrifies us. The so-called forces are not as powerful as they pretend to be. And it is impossible to see how they can build a new world, how they can fill this vast void which is the heart of modern man, betrayed, disillusioned; yet the vacuum is at the same time a great challenge. The historic forces are in search of foundations. Now or never is the time to proclaim: "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid."

The problem of freedom

Nazism is a false answer to a real question—that of the individual in the mass, or freedom in an industrialised world. Do the forces which are preparing to undertake reconstruction understand this, and are they giving real and workable answers to the question? I fear we must admit that this is not so.

Liberalism will not recognise that the problem exists. It goes on propounding a wholly formal freedom in a world which is seeking a freedom with substance, one which is only political in a world dominated by economic forces. It sacrifices equality and justice to freedom. It preaches the gospel of the free personality to men and women who are less and less capable of understanding what personality and what freedom are. Also it takes no rational measures to rescue them from their distress.

Communism does recognise the problem, but it forces the issue by the temporary suppression of all freedom. It believes in the miracle of liberation by constraint, of the creation of persons by the organisation of the ant-hill. And in this way it sacrifices freedom to equality. It requires the masses for its activity; yet, instead of transforming the masses into a community, it maintains them as masses and glorifies them as such, by attributing to them the sentiments of power and of equality.

Socialism comes nearer to a real solution. It sees more clearly than the others that freedom and equality, personality and community, must be treated with equal seriousness, and that it is no less fatal to create a just order by the suppression of freedom than it is to maintain freedom at the price of general social inequality. It seeks a freedom which is not limited to universal suffrage, but which extends into the economic and social realms. It tries to attack the problem of the masses by giving men a personal and responsible place in the community.

Its great danger however is that of slipping gradually and imperceptibly towards a state-control which leaves no real place for freedom. And this it will undoubtedly do unless it makes an effort to discover the message which is capable of creating the personalities of whom it stands in need. The "plan" does not produce persons; it does not lift us above the level of the economic man.

In this respect there is nothing to choose among the three systems. They have not found a way to emerge from the impasse in which we find ourselves by reason of the superstition that

economic man *per se* exists. The problems of freedom and the mass will only be solved in so far as we realise that *homo economicus* is before all *homo,* and that the economic and social problem must be treated as a human problem.

The mission of the Church

Finally let us indicate some of the lessons which the Church must draw from this situation.

1. We must emphasise that the Church cannot give a general blessing to any one of these present systems. The Church must remain wholly *free* and independent of each of them.

2. The Church must proclaim that the work of laying a stable foundation for reconstruction is still to be done; that this foundation cannot be a more or less emended edition of the old rationalist conceptions, but must be nothing less than the recognition of the commandments of the living God.

3. The Church must realise that the present vacuum and the universal search for new roots for the life of society is a unique opportunity for evangelisation. It goes without saying that its message must be proclaimed in relation to the great problems of today, the thirst of a true freedom, a true justice and a real security.

4. The Church must take its stand against three errors which are particularly dangerous in our time. Against the illusion (or hypocrisy) which sees no corrupting and demonic element in political and social power the Church must proclaim that "all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". It will in this way demand that every power in this world admit its limits before God and man. Against all doctrines of freedom without responsibility it will proclaim that man is his brother's keeper and that freedom is mere anarchy, if it is not set in the framework of service to God and one's neighbour. Against ideas of state-control or dictatorship extending to the entire life of the citizen it must proclaim that man has his inalienable rights and duties, the right to live as a responsible being and the duty to live according to the vocation God gives him.

5. The Church must show forth in the world of tomorrow what a true community of individuals may be, by rebuilding its own life, by working out forms of community life, and by thus permitting the unconscious members of the masses to become conscious members of the Body of Christ.

Thinking Ahead as Christians

AURORA

A statement from a consultative W.S.C.F. meeting held at Aurora College, Aurora, Illinois, 20th to 24th April, 1944.

Present judgments regarding the war and the future

As members of the W.S.C.F., meeting within one of the United Nations, we are particularly conscious of our involvement in a world at war. Our members, representing sixteen national backgrounds, feel impelled as Christians by the responsibility which membership in the W.S.C.F. imposes upon us, to share our present judgments regarding the war and the future with our friends wherever they may be, and to assure them that, while not representing the W.S.C.F. or any of our national movements officially, these judgments do convey something of our thinking as a group of Christian student representatives meeting amidst all the tensions and distractions of war, but with an acute realisation of our solidarity under God with our Christian fellow students from whom we are now separated by war.

Common guilt

Christians should look upon the war, and the crisis of which it is a part, as the consequence of economic, racial and social causes based upon our failure to understand and fulfil God's purpose for mankind. As Christians we must recognise the common responsibility of all nations in the causes of the war and our common responsibility for working for order, justice and co-operation. This recognition of common sin and responsibility should precede all moral judgment concerning the degree of evil or degree of justice as represented by the parties to the conflict.

Moral distinctions

While in many ways all nations are responsible for excesses in war, a distinction must be made between the terrible slaughter and catastrophe of war and those deliberate national policies which outrage the conscience of mankind by an intentional attempt to obliterate peoples and cultures. Such deliberate crimes, many of them on a large scale, against helpless populations, have been committed, which call for just and orderly judgment and disciplinary action against

those primarily responsible. Any discipline in the interest of justice or order following the end of the war, should be such that the consciences of Christian people within the nations involved will approve it just, after the bitterness of the war is past. Concern for justice must not become a façade for vindictiveness.

Reconciliation

The World's Student Christian Federation and the Christian Churches should put their major emphasis upon reconciliation between enemies, upon restoration to sanity and health of those who have been the victims of false ideologies, as well as those in countries whose moral judgments and spiritual outlooks have been distorted by war. In all nations there is a solidarity among Christians who resist tyranny in whatever form it appears. We are united in seeking the freedom of all peoples from political tyranny and economic exploitation and racial discrimination. Because of the crises and war, many of our fellow Christians in various parts of the world have paid heavy prices for their loyalty to the Federation, thus maintaining the spiritual bond of fellowship intact, which will make possible the beginning of reconciliation through the Christian community as soon as communication across the present battle line is established.

Reconstruction

Those of us who are nationals of the countries that have been spared the worst ravages of war, are resolved to do everything in our power to aid in the reconstruction of the nations of Europe and Asia on both sides of the conflict. We will support public and private agencies which are prepared to bring relief to victims of war, and we will attempt to create a public opinion in our nations such as will produce a willingness to make the economic sacrifices that are necessary if such relief is to be adequate.

The welfare of all peoples

Beyond the support of the program of relief, those of our number who are nationals of the United Nations are resolved to urge upon our governments the importance of giving hope to the people of Germany and Japan after the menace of nazism and militarism have been overcome. We believe that our governments should pursue a constructive policy that will enable all nations to become equal partners in a world community. (Christian love involves for us the obligation to seek the welfare of the peoples of all nations without distinction. A policy of continued repression of defeated nations would prove self-destructive and bring disaster to all nations.) Each of the United Nations, and the United Nations collectively, have a

responsibility for announcing now their intention to utilise all of their resources for the creation of a real world community in which all nations and peoples would have their rightful place.

GWATT

Part of the report of an ecumenical study week held at Gwatt, Switzerland, 2nd to 8th January, 1944.

This week was different in some respects from the first ecumenical study week organised by the W.S.C.F. in Geneva in March, 1943. Our aim this time was to get together a selected group of people for an intensive period of training in ecumenical problems and policy. Several of those present had gone through imprisonment and hardships; yet the number of those still under the "refugee status" were less numerous than we had hoped as many students had been called back to working camps during the winter vacation. Among the fifty people assembled in Gwatt were a solid block of French theological students, three Swedes, two Dutch, one Hungarian, one Czech, one Bulgarian, one Scotsman, one American, two or three Germans, and a dozen Swiss.

The Bible study in the morning was meant to lay the foundations for the afternoon lectures on contemporary problems. The text was first studied in groups, then the main address was delivered and followed by questions and discussion. The method still needs improvement; we are far from being experts in corporate Bible study even on this supposedly biblically trained continent!

The Strength and Weakness of the Church

Dr. X (German) spoke on "The Strength and Weakness of the Church." Faced with the totalitarian masses the Church seems weak; the law of self-abasement accepted by her Lord is also hers. But the life of the churches which suffer persecution shows how the weakness of the Church can be turned to her Lord's glory and manifest His power. This has been the case every time the Church has proclaimed the sole sovereignty of her Lord and has stood up in protest against the transgression by the state of law and righteousness. But the churches have proved weak every time they kept silent when they should have spoken. The confessing church in Germany for instance should have spoken plainly against racial discrimination, or against the violation of the ten commandments in private and public life; the Church should have claimed her right to protect youth against the dissolving effect of anti-Christian propaganda. The Church was never stronger in Germany than it was on the day when 300 pastors were put in jail for having spoken from the pulpit against the godless propaganda which poisoned the

people's minds. The group of pastors which drafted the memorandum of 1936, addressed to the Chief of the State, or again the group of pastors who dared to pray for peace in September, 1938, and called the people to repentance, were indeed a "strong Church". And the bishops who at that time yielded to the pressure of the mighty were the weak Church. Today it is to Norway and Holland we must turn if we want to know the signs by which one recognises the strength of the Church militant.

The Church has become the spokesman of national freedom, national conscience and dignity. But we must ask ourselves if all those who come to the Church in such hours are really members of Christ's Body and if there is not a danger of taking the voice of national conscience as the voice of the Good Shepherd. In France the work of Christian youth on behalf of the refugees has been one of the clearest testimonies given to the self-giving love of Christ. The sufferings endured have drawn the refugees and those who help them closer to Christ. But there also exists a danger of glorying in our sufferings. Where commitment is real the devil tries all the more to creep in and spoil the game!

There exists an irreducible antagonism between the Church and totalitarian mass movements; individuality is lost in the anonymous whole of the state, army or party; the Christian, on the other hand, who obeys his Lord stands outside and *vis-à-vis* the world in faith and spirit; and it is just this standing face to face that totalitarianism cannot bear. For totalitarianism wants a vacuum that it can fill. Its tactics may vary, its will to get rid of the Church is everywhere the same; but where the Church preaches boldly the Crucified and Risen Lord, the Devil begins to tremble and shows signs of weakness and impotence. (Thus in Norway and Holland the occupying power has tried to avoid an open conflict.)

The Church in Germany and reconstruction

What will be the contribution of the Church in the realm of reconstruction? First of all a call to repentance. As a German who loves his country, says Dr. X., I know that we Germans need a radical *metanoia* (change of heart) if we are to be delivered of our unhealthy dreams and our obsession of power. An indulgent half-way solution would be disastrous in its effects. The German people must acknowledge the crimes committed to themselves, to their victims and to God. Such a repentance in order to be fruitful must be spontaneous and a "war-guilt" imposed from the outside would wreck the process of spiritual healing without which there can be no peace in Europe. The Church in Germany must preach repentance and forgiveness of sins *urbi et orbi* and after having given the diagnosis of the evil to be overcome she will be able to

give a lead in the realm of reconstruction. The other Churches should help to foster the process; they can do so through confessing the sins of their own nations (the brutality of mass bombardments, the machiavellian attitude towards the sufferings of occupied nations) and through a frank discussion with the German Church implying both criticism and constructive suggestions. The German churches should take a share in the work for reconstruction in the formerly occupied areas which have suffered most.

Reconstruction will depend on the capacity of the various peoples concerned to think through their situation before God and conform their educational programme, social order and law to the will of God. Who will be the *praeceptor Germaniae* of tomorrow? The speaker contended that it could not be the Anglo-Saxons; this does not mean that continental Europe has not a lot to learn from them, but her schoolmasters must come from within. The Church will have to proclaim that Christ is the one true *praeceptor mundi.* The Church will have to teach the true freedom of the children of God; the principle of *habeas corpus* must be restored so that every citizen enjoys the protection of the law. In several European countries law will have to be rebuilt starting from the bottom. In the realm of law as well as in the realm of education the Church must be the watchman telling the state what is and what is not in keeping with the divine will. To work toward the "demassification" of the masses we must rediscover what it means to be "a person" and what it means to be a true community. Social justice must become a living reality and the Church must stand more than ever as the defender of the poor and oppressed, as the Body which reunites those who have been scattered.

In the international realm the Church will have to deal with the difficult problem of the limitation of *national sovereignty* and help to create a status for those who have no country of their own to protect them. To overcome the phenomenon of masses, it is not enough to protect the individual person, we must work toward the formation of organic social groups. In the political realm this means decentralisation. Germany should become a confederation like Switzerland, with a dozen regional centres. The regional churches in Germany (there are about twenty) have given great signs of vitality; they have maintained their autonomy within the uniform mass of the centralised state. Could not these churches play a definite role in the reconstruction of a federated Germany?

Reconciliation

Finally, one of the main tasks of the Church will be that of *reconciliation.* The sword that the Prince of this world has put in the hands of those who are his tools is the *spirit of hatred.* There is

no future for Europe and the world if this spirit is not overcome; it is a question of life and death for the salvation of the world—as for our own salvation. But the sword of the Spirit must be sharper than the sword of the enemy. The task will be extraordinarily difficult. We shall be faced after this war with millions and tens of millions of disillusioned, suffering people who will have lost everything; our continent will have been pauperised to an unimaginable degree; and these people will want some guarantees for their personal dignity, for peace and justice. They may try to find a solution by force and this would mean chaos. Europe has gone so low and lost its self-respect to such a degree that we must now rely exclusively on the sovereign will of God. We know that Jesus Christ has still thoughts of mercy and not of wrath for our world. We shall be able to face our tremendous task only if we rely exclusively on His grace, if we accept His strength to work through our weakness.

A VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN PATRIARCH

Extracts from the diary of a former W.S.C.F. secretary, September, 1943

Stalingrad

Leaving the wharves and railyards of Astrakan we flew steadily up the west bank of the main channel of the Volga. To the east the strange green landscape of the delta still stretched away to the horizon; to the west lay the barren brown levels of the steppe varied only by occasional patches of sand. For miles and miles the only signs of human life were occasional villages in the delta and the ships on the river. At last a line of white concrete buildings appeared on the north-western horizon and an excited whisper went round the plane—Stalingrad!

Stalingrad is a long narrow town built along the high western bank of the Volga. From a distance the great concrete blocks of flats and offices looked fairly normal; but as we flew low over them we could see that they were nothing but roofless shells. Between the concrete blocks there were great areas of rusty-brown—the twisted remains of the assembly shops of the Stalingrad factories —and here and there great chimney stacks still stood among the ruins. Towards the south end of the city some of the blocks round the main square had already been re-roofed and a gigantic Soviet statue still stood with a hand outstretched pointing onward. There were also three or four small factories already working. The roads were clear of rubbish and trains were busy in the goods yards. Amid so much destruction it was astonishing to see such crowds of people in the streets.

As we circled on to land at the aerodrome two or three miles S.W. of the city we flew over an area crevassed by ravines, but apparently more fertile than the surrounding steppe. The ground was pitted with shell holes and bomb craters, but the farmers had already been at work. We flew over a number of large fields where men were at work with tractor-drawn ploughs. It was a wonderful symbol of the triumph of life over the forces of destruction,

and the whole scene of the "thus far and no farther" stand, and of the immediate effort of reconstruction, affected us deeply. In particular it seemed almost miraculous that the defenders should have been able to supply themselves by ferry across the broad river from the low wooded islands to the east, when so much of the dominating western bank was occupied by German artillery.

After landing we had plenty of time to explore the vicinity of the aerodrome as we did not leave until after noon. By midday our 5 o'clock breakfast seemed a long way behind and some Red Army officers kindly invited us to feed with them. We sat out in the open on trestle seats in what a year before had been the garden in front of the airport offices. Lunch consisted of large quantities of rye bread and fine red water-melon. The officers were most friendly, but our limited Russian made any conversation difficult. We asked where the crowds of people we had seen in the streets of Stalingrad lived. We were told: "in the cellars they occupied during the fighting and in the dugouts in the river banks and sides of the ravines which were constructed by the Army." Homes would only be rebuilt when the factories were working again. Think of living with your family *under such conditions through a second Russian winter!*

A visit to the Patriarchate with the Archbishop of York

At last, four hours after leaving Stalingrad, we reached the outskirts of Moscow. We had no notion of what our reception was likely to be, so as we circled in we looked out carefully to see if there were any Russian ecclesiastics on the airport. Yes! there were. Indubitably we could see a group of bearded and cassocked figures standing in front of a crowd near one of the hangars. We hurriedly opened the robe case and vested the Archbishop in purple cassock and Canterbury Cap. When I came out I saw a number of Red Army men drawn up to form two sides of a hollow square. Behind them stood quite a crowd of men and women, nearly all in uniform. Immediately in front stood Metropolitan Nicolai of Kiev wearing a white headdress bearing a small jewelled cross, and with him were Archbishop Sergei of Gorki, all in black, Fr. Nicolai Kolchetski, the Dean of the Cathedral, and a Russian interpreter. After exchanging kisses with the

Metropolitan and greeting the others, the Archbishop listened to a short speech of welcome and then replied—explaining that he came to give greetings to the Russian Church and nation.

The next morning at 10.45 a.m. the cars arrived to take us to our first formal visit to the Patriarchate. We drove about half a mile to the S.W. past a street where "Count Rostov's" house still stands and other squares and streets that are often mentioned in War and Peace. *This was the fashionable quarter of early 19th century Moscow. A terracotta-coloured Metro station of modern design (something like a "hedge hog" position on the war maps!) looked curiously at home among the stucco-palaces. At 11.00 we arrived at the patriarchate, a well-proportioned medium sized building which was the residence of the German Ambassador until 1941! It was in excellent repair.*

We were shown in by Fr. Nicolai. The Patriarch with the two Metropolitans of Leningrad and Kiev, and the Archbishop of Gorki were waiting to receive us. After solemn greetings we sat down at the table, and the Archbishop presented the beautifully transcribed letter from himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury which we had brought from England. The Patriarch said he would read it with pleasure.

Three Orthodox Churchmen

What kind of impression did we have of the Patriarch and his associates? Sergius himself is a very venerable figure—broad in face and build—surprisingly erect and sturdy in spite of his 78 years. He has an unclipped white beard and wears steel-rimmed glasses behind which his eyes gleam with lively intelligence. His hearing is not naturally good but he has an electrical machine which seems to make good the deficiency. Sometimes at our longer subsequent meetings he would appear to become rather somnolent, but would suddenly make a pointed remark which showed that he was fully aware of what was being said. The general impression was one of shrewd benevolence. He has had a very distinguished career, beginning as Archimandrite at the Russian Embassy at Athens in days when this was a key place for inter-Orthodox relations, and including a special mission to the Orthodox Church in Japan, and the Archbishopric of Finland before

and during the war of 1914. He has been prepared to collaborate with left-wing Governments even before the Bolshevik revolution and had advocated such a policy at the Church Council of 1917.

Metropolitan Alexis of Leningrad, the second in rank, is a much younger man, who was a student until 1914. He told me that his family always went abroad for the winter; but he stopped in Russia to continue his studies. Nevertheless, he speaks good and fluent French. He looks a student, though his face is much lined and worn. It is all the more interesting to know that he has a great reputation in Leningrad for his courage and leadership during the siege, and later (after our departure) this was recognised by the award of a Government decoration.

Metropolitan Nicolai of Kiev is the same age as Alexis, but in spite of his white hair and square-cut white beard, he looks much more vigorous. He said remarkably little at all in the official interviews, but we had the impression that he was the mainspring of the plans for the whole visit. He is more the type of "a man of action"; but for all that his face and manner are most attractive. All three reminded us of Our Lord's injunction "to be wise as serpents and innocent as doves".

Holy Liturgy at the Cathedral

The following day was St. Matthew's Day in the Western Calendar—the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Eastern. At 9.40 a.m. we left for the Bogoyavlenski Cathedral. As we drove up we could see quite a crowd about the doors. Fr. Nicolai came to greet us, and after we had vested the Archbishop in his coronation cape and mitre we followed him up the nave through the narrow passage between the crowded congregation. We were taken to seats inside the sanctuary and to the north of the altar itself. The British Ambassador, the Australian Chargé d' affaires, the Minister, the Head of the British Military Mission, and many members of their staffs were present at the service and were also invited to stand in the sanctuary. This kindness was much appreciated—though some undoubtedly found the service over-long! Ten minutes later the Patriarch arrived and the choir began to sing the episcopal greeting.

The Cathedral as we saw it from the step in front of the ikonostasis was an unforgettable sight. It is a 19th century building in the Russian baroque style[1] *consisting of a rectangular sanctuary, a large square space under the dome, a T-shaped nave and a large porch under the western tower. The walls and ceiling were covered with frescoes which were well lighted by the windows in the octagon below the dome and in the north and south walls of the central space. The coffering under the main arches, the acanthus frieze and the enormous bronze ceremonial fans recalled the splendours of Byzantium.*

Except for the platform, on which we stood, the cathedral was by now jammed tight with people. They stood so close together as to appear to be almost cheek to cheek—like the figures in some early Italian frescoes—and one wondered how their bodies could be fitted in. The great majority were women—many indeed were old, but there were also many who appeared to be between the ages of 20 and 40. They were clothed like the crowds in the streets in light coloured quilted coats with scarves—usually white ones—over their heads. When we asked him afterwards how many people were present, the Dean said he thought about 10,000. Some of the journalists doubted if this was possible, but at any rate the cathedral was crammed to capacity. It is worth noting that nothing was published in the press about our arrival until the afternoon of this day; on the other hand the Nativity of the Virgin is one of the more important feasts in the Orthodox Calendar.

At 10.30 a.m. the Liturgy itself began. It was splendidly sung by the choir and deacons. After the Liturgy the Archbishop was led out by the North Door while the Patriarch and Bishops came through the Royal Door and the people again sang "Eis polla eti, despota"—the old Greek greeting for a Bishop.

The Patriarch then made a short speech of welcome referring to the Archbishop's arduous journey. The people listened with great interest and attention while Metropolitan Alexei read the Russian translation of the Archbishop's reply. Finally we were let down the midde to the West Door through the excited crowd—many of whom were weeping—while others reached out to touch

[1] See photographs pp. 164, 165 of *The Truth about Religion in Russia.*

the Archbishop's robes and called out "English Archbishop" and "Thank you! Thank you!", and held out their hands for a blessing, which the Archbishop gave as he walked, first on one side and then on the other. It was an extraordinarily moving scene and it was with difficulty that we penetrated the crowds in the street outside and drove off in the Ambassador's car.

A Walk in Moscow

We went for a short walk before dark. We wore our clerical clothes but appeared to arouse no special interest. We walked round the Kremlin, where the aspens were an even lovelier shade of gold, and observed the fantastically beautiful church of St. Basil in the Red Square (which was however closed, having been used as an anti-religious museum before the war), and Lenin's tomb, the red basalt of which tones in strangely well with the mediaeval brickwork of the Kremlin behind. We saw three or four buildings which had been damaged by bombing, but there was nothing at all comparable to the devastated areas of London.

We were really more interested in the crowds than in the shops! There were extremely few men. The few we did see were mostly in uniform; but again, the contrast with the streets of London which are crowded with men in uniform, was most marked. (I believe that the Red Army man gets leave extremely seldom, if ever.) There were also comparatively few old people. The great majority were working women. Comparing the crowds in the street with the congregation in the cathedral in the morning, we thought that there was very little difference; perhaps there was a slightly larger proportion of old women in the congregation than we saw in the streets. Most people looked quite healthy and as cheerful as the crowd in any other city. Clothes were old and patched and monotonously similar; but they were much cleaner than the average in Balkan cities.

After tea we again took a "constitutional"—this time up Gorki Street. We saw where a number of large houses had been moved back bodily 50 yards as part of the street widening scheme. This is the kind of feat which seems to please Russians as well as American engineers! We saw the red-painted "House of the Moscow Soviet"—where the revolutionary committee met in

1917, and the dark grey marble "cubes" of the Marx-Lenin Institute. In the Kuznitsky Mal there were many pleasant 18th century buildings, in one of which we noticed a restaurant with a floor reserved for Commissars and another for foreigners. We visited a number of bookshops; but they were practically out of stock except for a quantity of propaganda booklets—mostly in German! There were many traces of the elaborate camouflage carried out in 1941, when all the big squares were painted to resemble houses, and distinctive buildings were also disguised.

A Service of Prayer for Victory

The Cathedral was even more tightly packed with people than on the previous occasion. Soon the Orthodox Metropolitans and Bishops arrived. Having kissed the altar they came over and embraced the Archbishop. The four Bishops and the Dean were wearing wonderful old-gold vestments; about a dozen priests were present robed in dark red velvet and gold. The colourings and materials of all these vestments were so magnificent that the Archbishop's coronation cope looked almost garish. The Patriarch arrived and was robed before the altar.

The service began with the whole congregation joining the choir in singing the hymn: "O God save Thy people." Then a deacon (or a priest acting as such) sang a litany. An Old Testament reading, a passage from the Epistle and a Gospel were then sung. The passages were rather long and the congregation got a little restive, but the singers were quite unperturbed. More litanies followed including one for those who had died in the war. This last was sung by a deacon standing in a special place beside the Patriarch. The choir sang the responses very softly, and before it ended a very large proportion of the congregation were weeping. I remembered how the Patriarch in his very first proclamation after the German attack had called on the faithful to pray for all those who gave their lives for their country, whether they were believers or not. Then, amid a deep silence, the Patriarch read the special prayer for victory.

After the prayer the Patriarch gave a blessing and then went on to a short patriotic address. He called on Russian Christians to distinguish themselves by their faith, courage and self-sacrifice

in the fight with the brutal invader. (As he spoke I was reminded of the sentence in his Encyclical published at the time of his release from prison in 1927: "Should the State demand rejection of property, should it be necessary to lay down his life for the common good, should it be to show an example of temperance, honesty, earnestness, in serving society—all this indeed the Christian is taught by his faith.") The congregation listened attentively as he called on them to "dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to the service of Christ and the Motherland."

After some minutes we were led out in single file—making our way with some difficulty through a crowd which was swaying with excitement and enthusiasm. Even outside the door the crowd was still so dense that we could scarcely reach the cars. It had been a very moving—and tiring!—service.

The position of the Church

The legal position is that the Church is as freely self-governed as at any time in Russian history. The supreme council or Sobor *consists of the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops. (At present no attempt has been made to secure representation by election of the lower clergy or laity—as at the historic Council of 1917.) This Council elects the Patriarch and the three permanent members of the Synod (the Metropolitans of Leningrad and Kiev, and the Archbishop of Gorki). The latter hold office until the next meeting of the Council. They have co-opted three non-permanent members who come to Moscow for the two main winter and summer sessions and who hold office in the first place for a year only. The Synod elects Bishops. There is no interference by the State with any of these procedures, and nothing corresponding to the office of the Procurator of the Synod established by Peter the Great. The business of the parishes is conducted by "Parochial Councils" of twenty. The use of the churches is allocated by the State to these bodies.*

There are nearly 100 "active" Bishops in the U.S.S.R. today. Before 1917 there had been about 130 diocesan Bishops. Later a great many more had been consecrated; but the number they have now is the most convenient. Many were of course in Siberia and

other places from which it had not been possible for them to travel under war conditions at the time of the Sobor *which elected the Patriarch.*

Visit to the New Jerusalem Monastery at Istra

We drove out along the main road past the airport. Presently the big blocks of modern flats gave place to older two-storied buildings—then, after we had passed the tram terminus—to wooden datchi, *the small wooden houses to which city workers like to retire in summer. After passing a barrier guarded by Red Army women where papers were examined, we drove through a long tunnel under the new Moscow-Volga canal. This canal is an immense achievement. It is so big that the largest river steamers can now make the three weeks' journey from the Caspian to Moscow. Fifteen miles out from Moscow and we were already in what had been the front line area. We passed deep anti-tank ditches, barbed wire entanglements, and flying grounds still littered with wrecked fighter air-craft. The scene certainly brought home the fearful danger to Moscow in the autumn of 1941 when Stalin himself took over the command of the defence as he had done at Stalingrad (then Tsaritasyn) twenty years earlier. Both incidents have an important place in Stalin's tremendous reputation.*

We drove through numerous villages—the small single-storied wooden houses with their carved eaves and casements each standing in its own enclosure. Most gardens and houses were in fairly good order. We passed two large but decaying village churches. We were told that these were being used by the Red Army as storehouses. Metropolitan Nicolai explained that the villagers were not necessarily deprived of the possibility of attending services. In Russia the villages generally lay near together in groups of three or five. Formerly each had its own church; but as long as one church in the group remained open the villagers could attend it without walking unreasonable distances. In getting more churches open in the villages they were basing their strategy on this fact.

Forty miles or so from Moscow we climbed a low hill and came to the site of what had been the prosperous little town of Istra.

The Russian interpreter used to come here for the summer before the war, but he could not recognise the scene. Of the 2,000 houses of the town nearly all built of wood, in which 10,000 people lived before 1941, nothing remained except the central chimney stacks standing forlornly on top of the great tiled stoves. Of the few brick buildings—a school, municipal offices and a small hospital—nothing but the bare walls remained.

Beyond the town lay the ruins of the New Jerusalem monastery of which the chief glory had been the magnificent church built by the great architect Rastrelli about 1730. We walked in through the ruined gatehouse and saw an appalling scene of destruction. The church had been surmounted by an enormous dome. This had been blown up by the Germans and only the eastern chapels and the nave walls remained. The whole centre of the church was filled with a huge heap of fallen masonry. Moreover, each of the decorative late medieval towers on the surrounding walls had also been wantonly destroyed. It is said that the buildings had been used as an ammunition dump.

Devastation and death

Groups of Red Army men were digging about in corners of the monastic enclosure. We were told they were still looking for buried mines of which more than 300 had been discovered. Some peasant women had followed us in. We asked them about their experiences during the short German occupation. They told him how their husbands had been marched off in droves, driven hither and thither, deprived of their winter clothes, and the survivors at last entrained for Germany. They themselves had been driven into the woods with their children. If they emerged they were shot. They were 11 days in the woods—in December without heat or adequate food—and many, especially of the children, had died of exposure. When the Germans left and fired the town, the women had hurried back to construct for themselves dugouts where the ground had been thawed by the heat. Similar stories are told of every town and village which the Germans occupied; and the whole Russian people know what things had been done. It is not surprising that they are determined that the Germans shall not again be able to attack them. On the other hand, in those

and other interviews of the same kind we Westerners were astonished at the stoicism with which the stories were told and the absence of vindictive references to those who were responsible for their sufferings.

Before leaving the town we drove out along another road past a little copse where there were a number of graves. We also passed one or two other war cemeteries by the roadside on the way home. The trees and bushes had been left undisturbed and the graves dug under them. Some were surmounted by Red Stars, others by Orthodox Crosses. In theory Christian soldiers can receive Christian burial; but as there are no chaplains with the armies this is usually impracticable. Everybody knows this and consequently there is a very great demand for memorial services. This demand is the way in which the popular desire for greater freedom of religious worship takes most definite form.

As we drove back the sun was still shining and the warm light shimmered on the birch leaves. Crossing a bridge we met a large herd of cattle and sheep being driven back from "the Eastern regions" by some sturdy peasant women; one of them, walking barefoot, carried a pair of boots in her hand! The Soviets are justly proud of their achievement in not only preserving but building up their stocks of cattle.

Conversation with Metropolitan Nicolai

The Bishop spoke confidently of plans for training new clergy after the war. In order to raise the standard of the education of the clergy, and keep the law against giving organised religious teaching to those under 18, no seminaries will be planned on the pre-1917 pattern, but all candidates for ordination will be expected to go through the state schools up to the age of 18. Thereafter country clergy will have at least two years in a seminary and city clergy at least four. There will be plenty of theological books for the seminaries when they are opened after the war as the state has safely evacuated to the "eastern regions" the great theological libraries of Kiev and Leningrad. (On another occasion the Bishops said that they fully expected to be able to publish theological textbooks and new works "after the war".) There are enough theologians available to staff the new colleges. The

Bishops know of candidates for ordination among Red Army men.

Other sects continue now much as they did before. The "Old Believers" (i.e., Orthodox Nonconformists) have a Bishop and a Church in Moscow. The "Living Church" (founded in 1922) could better be called the "Dying Church". It has very few churches now—practically none outside Moscow. The "Evangelical-Baptists" also have a central church administration recognised by the Government, and a congregation in Moscow. So have Jews and Moslems. The legal position of all these bodies is the same as that of the Patriarchal Church. No organised missionary work can be carried on by the Orthodox Church in the Moslem areas. (A complication here is that before 1917 Orthodox missionary activity was very closely connected with the "Great-Russian" policy of the Tsars.)

A Press Conference

In answer to questions the Archbishop emphasised the fact that we came as a delegation from the Church of England on the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church: we also brought a message of sympathy from English churchmen to the Russian people in the sufferings caused by the invasion and of admiration for their victorious resistance. But we were not a Government delegation; nor could we speak for, or to, other Churches (e.g., the Baptists). He said that in the past there had been other exchange visits between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches; one had been made by a previous Archbishop of York.

He had been particularly impressed by the importance which the Russian Bishops attached to the fact that "worship had never ceased". The number of churches which were "working" in Moscow had been as low as 15 or 16 in 1939: it was said to be 25 or so in 1942 and nearly 50 in 1943. (Here a journalist reminded us that Mr. Maisky had publicly declared that the weapon of disproportionate rates and taxes was no longer being used to hamper churches.) Anti-religious museums had been closed. The proportion of young to old and of men to women in the congregations in the churches was not markedly lower than that of the crowds in the streets. (The Russians are physically an astonish-

ingly young people—50% of their 193 million are said to be under the age of 21!) The gift he had received of a modern ikon of St. George was interesting evidence of the fact that the ikon-makers were able to work again. The crowded churches and obvious devotion of the people had been the main impressions of the visit. He thought that the stress of war had revealed to Stalin both the strength of the Church in modern Russia and its complete loyalty to the Soviet State in the fight with nazism. The Church leaders did not feel that they were being exploited for the war effort. The invitation to the Anglican delegation had come many months before there had been any hint of the possibility of the election of a Patriarch and the Church leaders' interview with Stalin.

In general he had been most impressed by the wide streets filled with people in working-class dress and by the vigour and health of the children. No one had asked him about the second front, and although German atrocities had been mentioned, there had been no talk about either the necessity or the method of retribution.

A visit to a school

In the early afternoon we visited a large school to the south of Gorki Street. Except that its buildings—a seven storey block —were comparatively new (c. 1935) there was nothing very exceptional about this school. Each floor was given up to a different age group, the youngest at the bottom. The mural decorations of each floor were appropriate for the different ages, e.g., illustrated fairy stories on the ground floor, engineers and inventions further up, philosophers and statesmen on the top floor. The normal course was 10 years—beginning at 7½. There were special laboratories for chemistry, physics, and preliminary military instruction. The latter contained specimens of different types of modern firearms. We visited also the school library, which contained a magnificent edition of Shakespeare in Russian, the gymnasium and an apparatus room where pictures and diagrams of all kinds could be obtained by the staff for their classes.

It was Saturday afternoon but the school was hard at work. The feature of which the staff were most proud was the fact that

this school had been among the first to carry out the decree (of late 1942) abolishing co-education, which had previously been universal. The staff who mentioned this subject all spoke of the change as a big educational advance. The school now held 500 boys. The cropped heads, slender necks and large eyes of the younger ones were singularly attractive! They all looked well and adequately fed. We visited the clean and cheerful school canteen where most of the boys got their main midday meal, but there was nothing for us to sample!

It is of course against the law for any organised religious instruction to be given to boys and girls under 18. The spirit of this law was reflected in the fact that among all the numerous pictures and statues on the walls, and in the illustrated school books and library, while there was plenty of material for the study of the lives and work of great scientists and philosophers and politicians, religion and great religious figures were just left out. We did not see any anti-religious writings or propaganda (and the attempt to teach Marxist-Leninist philosophy as a positive alternative to Christianity was abandoned some years ago); but, except for one or two pictures among the apparatus for history-teaching which shewed Alexander Nevsky as a soldier, it was as though the Christian Church had never existed. On the other hand, Christian parents in Soviet Russia seem to have done their duty for their children very effectively. There were a considerable number of young children present with their mothers at all the services which we attended, and we also noted that there were boy servers of 10 or 12 years of age. So all has not gone quite as smoothly as rationalists would have liked!

An Anti-God Museum

The Novodevetchi Convent has long been an "Anti-God" Museum. (These institutions appear to have been of two distinctive types: crude anti-ecclesiastical propaganda shows illustrating the link between the monks, the Tsar and capitalist exploitation of the workers, or, like this convent, museums of ecclesiastical art.) The Museum had not been open to the public since 1941; and many of the other type of museum seem to have disappeared

altogether some time before the German invasion. The convent buildings are surrounded by a high brick wall with loopholes and turrets. Most of the buildings are 18th century baroque, including a fine bell-tower in red brick picked out with white. (Some bells, but not apparently as many as the tower was built to hold, were in situ.) *There was a long range of cells for 150 nuns. But the main feature is a superb 16th century Cathedral erected by the Tsars Ivan "the Terrible" and Boris Godounov. It is a high square building crowned with a cluster of small domes. Inside the lofty vaults are supported by four square columns. The ikonostasis is of unusual height. Roof, walls and columns were also covered with ikons painted on the plaster.*

We saw the results of some experiments that had been made before the war in cleaning the 17th century mural paintings. This cleansing altered the whole tone and effect. Instead of browns and greys dominating, the areas which had been treated were brilliant with yellows, greens and purples! The Soviet Government intend to go on with this difficult and expensive work. Some small wooden plaques draw the visitors' attention to such points as that the inhabitants of Heaven as depicted in the ikons were mostly Czars and Bishops! Others simply carried details of dates and craftsmanship.

Vespers in a city Church

I went off by myself to attend the first part of Vespers at the Church of the Resurrection, Brusorski. It was just getting dark. Outside the door there were a dozen or so cripples and other beggars such as are to be seen outside any Orthodox or Roman Catholic Church in Southern or South-Eastern Europe. Inside there was a large congregation—which got more and more dense as the service went on. The Church is not a big one, and we all stood pressed one against another so tightly that the priest and server could scarcely get around to the ikons. When the blackout curtains had been lowered and many candles lighted it became uncomfortably warm.

During one of the longer hymns or litanies I "took a census" of my neighbours. Excluding children (who were numerous) the

50 people in my vicinity were made up as follows: 15 old men and women (I was standing in a fairly protected place where old people could rest against the wall), 5 younger men, and the rest younger women—many of them with babies. There were some small "class" differences in their clothes, e.g., a few wore hats; the majority triangular scarves. Their coats, like those of the crowds in the streets, were nearly all of the same pattern—short and quilted—and most were old and patched.

It was the Eve of the Festival of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, but we sang the ordinary music of Saturday night Vespers. I say "we sang" deliberately, because this was the most unusual and impressive feature of this service. There were two choirs—a small mixed one, and a typical choir of rather cracked women's voices; but nearly all the regular responses and "hymns" were sung by the whole congregation in a very moving and at the same time disciplined way. I felt that this was true liturgical worship, not something done for us, but something in which we all shared actively.

Conversation with Metropolitan Alexis

He said that in every family where there was still one Christian, even if he or she were only a grandparent (and grandmothers still have the responsibility of caring for many millions of Russian children while their mothers work), the children would all be baptised—even if it had to be done secretly. He thought that Russia was still a Christian nation in the sense that children who were baptised continued to outnumber those who were not. Only civil marriages were recognised by the State, and those marriages were recognised by the Church. The faithful were accustomed to come to church to have their marriages blessed. (This meant actually the traditional marriage ceremony.) The State still theoretically allowed a man or woman to have an unlimited number of divorces; but in practice administrative action had been taken to make better provision for children and discourage frequent divorce. The Church would bless a second and a third marriage. According to the rubrics these should be celebrated with penitential rites, but in practice the traditional marriage service was read.

A visit to a collective farm

We set out in two large cars at 9 o'clock. Seventy-two kilometres out we reached the small country-town, straggling along a single street. It had been shelled by the Germans from across the canal but the damage appeared to have been slight, except for the church (which may have become ruinous before the war). We drew up outside the "Town Hall," a solid single-storied building, and after some enquiries had been made, the "Deputy Mayor" came out to speak to us. He was a very hearty red-faced individual, wearing a smart blue blouse with a belt, wide blue breeches, long boots and a cloth cap.

This Collective was named "Victory". There was a total population of 340 of whom 134 were workers. They occupied 80 houses and farmed about 1,000 acres (497 hectares), of which half was arable. They used a nine-field rotation system: i) ploughed fallow, ii) winter wheat, iii) & iv) clover, v) summer wheat, vi) ploughland potatoes, vii) rye, viii) potatoes, ix) oats. They kept cattle, sheep and pigs. Before 1941 they used to use 100 tons per annum of chemical manure; now they were entirely dependent on organic manure and humus, which they conserved very carefully both individually and collectively. Most of the cattle were still away on lands to the east of the canal to which the herds had been driven at the time of the invasion. Thirty head of cattle in the collective herd yielded 3,000 litres per cow per annum. This was the result of careful breeding.

Each collective farmer has his own garden of about one acre of which the produce is his own. The rest of the ground belongs to the farmers collectively. When the crops are gathered a certain percentage is set aside for seed, and then contributions are made to an insurance fund for bad seasons and to a social fund (about 2% of the total) for nurseries, kindergarten and help for those who are too old for work. The next charge on the produce is Government requisitions, e.g., in 1943 10 tons of grain, 125 tons of potatoes and 50 tons of cabbages had gone to the Government, which had also bought an additional 170 tons of potatoes. The remainder is distributed among the farmers in proportion to the number of "working days" they put in. The farmers use what

they want of this produce; but they sell the great bulk of it together with the surplus produce of their gardens for cash either through such organisations as "The Union of vegetables and fruits" or in the open market. In 1943 the chief problem in disposing of the produce was transport. Before 1941 this farm had a shop of its own in Moscow and a collectively owned truck for transport.

Moscow, Stalingrad, Astrakan

As the aeroplane did not leave until 11.00 a.m. and there were no customs or other formalities, we were able to have a further general conversation with the Metropolitans of Leningrad and Kiev, the Archbishop of Gorki and Dean Nicolai who were at the airport to see us off. In particular we asked Metropolitan Nicolai about the question of retribution for German atrocities. He told us that they had been able to make a fairly accurate list of the names and ranks of the men directly responsible for many atrocities; but they had not been able to get from survivors much evidence to indicate whether or not the German occupiers had been S.S. or S.A. men. The Metropolitan added that as far as he knew no political decision had then been taken as to the method and extent of the punishment to be meted out to those who had thus broken the law of humanity. At length our conversation ended and we parted after exchanging most friendly greetings.

Looking back on our eleven and a half days in Soviet Russia I noted four points which had particularly impressed me at the time:

1) the warmth of the welcome that had been given to our Church delegation; 2) the real life in the Russian Orthodox Church, both in its able spiritual leaders and in its crowded congregations; 3) the immense possibilities of the Russian land and people, and the contrast between the true nature of these possibilities and achievements and the propaganda picture built up by friend and foe outside Russia; 4) the apparent absence of popular feelings of resentment or rivalry towards other nations and the fact that many Russians obviously welcome international news and friendship.

F. H. H.

THE STUDENT WORLD CHRONICLE

Chinese Journey

A Trip to the Southwest in the Fall of 1943

From November 9th to December 24th, 1943, I made a trip to six student work centers in the southwest. Travel is getting to be more difficult and more expensive these days. But it also means more isolation to our workers in the field. Thus, travel of headquarters' secretaries has become more significant and much better appreciated.

Student center activities.

National Chekiang University is scattered in three places. In the winter of 1940 we sent our first student secretary into Tsunyi. The present secretary spent three weeks with me there and in the other two centers. We have a student service centre in Tsunyi. It is in the temple of the Dragon King, very near the students' dormitory and dining room. When I was there, the center started to open for a couple of hours at night. A big gas lamp is used to enable the students to read in a good light. There is no electricity in Tsunyi and the university library which is up on a hill does not open to students at night. One night I visited the center and found about thirty students in real quiet. Light is a real problem with the students as the cost of oil has been rising by leaps and bounds.

I was very much thrilled by our student service center at Meitan. It was first opened in June, 1942. It is a small place, but the services are quite significant since there are practically no other agencies serving the students in this small city. Every day an average of one hundred students come in and out of the center. It provides a dozen kinds of newspapers and two or three hundred kinds of books and magazines. But it needs more books and other reading materials. The place is much too isolated. There is a chess table, but the place is too small to have many games. In the evenings a great many student organisations borrow the center for meetings. I was told half of the student meetings of the university take place in our center.

One unique thing about the student centers in Tsunyi and Meitan is that they are run by work-relief students. So the fact that our secretary, who lives in Tsunyi most of the time, can only make occasional trips to Meitan does not affect the smooth running of the two centers. The students are engaged in the following types of work: 1) Reading room supervision, 2) Wood work such as making models of airplanes, 3) Making envelopes, 4) Supplying stamps and taking care of registered mail, 5) Providing cheap hair-cuts, 6) Darning, mending and knitting, 7) Clipping newspapers, 8) Mimeographing, 9) Running free schools. In Tsunyi, the work-relief students were almost all boys while in Meitan there were quite a few girls.

As in other places, the students here live and eat very simply. The university has built four very nice dormitories in Meitan, one of which is for girls. In Yunghsing and Tsunyi accommodation is found in all sorts of temples and provincial guilds. Food is simple. Three dishes are usually served on each table. These are usually bean-curd, bean sprouts, and cabbage—with no oil! The President is deeply concerned about the T.B. situation among his students. About a dozen advanced cases are now in the university ward in Tsunyi. One of them died while I was there. Under-nourishment and crowded living conditions seem to help the spread of T.B.

There is a Student Christian Fellowship in each of the three places. The Tsunyi Fellowship is the strongest of all. It has a membership of seventy-six, and it is divided into five smaller groups each with a name of its own. The growth of the membership has been quite phenomenal since a year and a half ago, when there were only fifteen students in the whole Fellowship. Of the seventy-six, over twenty are baptised Christians and more than ten are girls. It means that one out of every ten students in Tsunyi is a member of the Christian Fellowship. Their activities are centered in the sub-center where our secretary lives. Every night after the students' supper time at 5 p.m. there is always something going on—either a discussion group, or a prayer meeting or a concert. The students are very keen about such fundamental Christian problems as the existence of God, the meaning of prayer, and the Christian conception of life. The very first day when I arrived in Tsunyi, three students sought me out for a discussion about the existence of God which lasted from 9 p.m. after an evening meeting up until midnight. When I was there, I also took part in a big social which showed the variety in talents that exists in the Fellowship group. I had a number of personal talks with the members and all these talks were related to some vital issues of life and our Christian faith. It is gratifying to hear that several of them were baptised this last Christmas.

A most expensive city

I had not visited Kunming for more than four years. The city has been greatly changed. There are more people, more buildings, more money and more prosperity. Kunming is said to be the most expensive place in the world just now. The cost of living index stands at 41,000 as compared with 100 just before the war broke out. The boom was at its highest when the Burma Road was open. Another thing that strikes you in Kunming is the conspicuous sight of the American service men and their "jeeps". They are in all kinds of cafes, cinemas and shops. American planes zoom overhead day and night and especially at night. I was in Kunming for more than two weeks and during the latter part of my visit there were frequent air-alarms. Twice the Japanese planes broke into the city in great numbers, but they went away with heavy losses. The city seems to be pretty well protected by the presence of the American air force.

No visitor in Kunming can escape the delightful effect of its climate. There was sunshine every day without fail when I was there. For people from Chungking who have to stand the fog, dampness, cold and mud in the winter, this was certainly a welcome change.

Kunming would not really be a cultural center if it were not due to the presence of the National Southwest Associated University. It is located in a cluster of five-room mud-huts outside the western gate of the city. At present there are 2,500 students, only one-seventh of whom are local. It is known for its high-grade professors and its liberal atmosphere. Students are proud to be there, for it is perhaps the best university in Free China.

Students are in a miserable condition financially. Poverty is almost universal as the overwhelming majority of the students are from outside. Practically all of them get some kind of government relief. But it is far from being adequate. The food is terrible. The government is spending $1,200,000 a month to keep the students alive even though in a very inadequate way. I was told that every student has to find at least $600 a month besides the government subsidy for his expenses. Consequently, more than half of the students do some remunerative jobs outside, such as teaching, tutoring, office work, newspaper writing, and broadcasting. It is said that the majority of the middle school teachers in Kunming and the other cities in Yunnan are students.

Kunming has a total of 3,800 students of college grade. Our student service center was opened on April 3, 1943. We bought three big wooden buildings, and they were removed to the present site from different places. At present, we have an auditorium, a reading room, a social room, a games room and an office. Every

morning bean-milk is served to 250 students. Recently, the British Press Attaché's Office in Kunming made a permanent loan of a very good radio to the center which adds to the pleasure of the students who come to the center. We also distribute winter coats to about seventy-six destitute students on a loan basis, and sell cheap soap, student-made envelopes and inexpensive shorts and inner shirts. Medical aid is also a feature of our programme.

The difficulties of student life

From now on we hope to put more emphasis on student welfare projects which will reach the needy students on a more general scale. Two important items are baths and breakfast. Owing to the expensiveness of coal, the university is not providing any hot water for bathing or even for drinking. It costs $70-$80 to go to a bathhouse! It would be a fine help if the center could provide shower baths to the students at a nominal charge. But it means the digging of a well which would involve an expenditure of $150,000. Then, school only provides two meals a day. This means that the students have to buy their own breakfasts, and they cost as much as the two other meals together. If the center could provide noodles or congee at cost price, it would be a great saving and also an immense nutritional help to the students. The initial costs of these projects would be very great but they are certainly worth starting.

The most popular topic of conversation when I was there was about the enlistment of the senior class boys for service in the expeditionary forces as interpreters. The university made it a requirement to take effect in February. This kind of service will be regarded as the equivalent of the thirty credits required to finish the college course. Pros and cons were discussed in the "wall papers". Naturally the students who have made their plans for further study or work or marriage are very reluctant to hear about such a requirement. The majority of the students, however, acquiesce in this move since the thing has already been decided and to criticise it would be regarded as unpatriotic. The President's own son had volunteered for such service even before this new scheme was announced. Under the general mood of depression, this enlistment plan gives a fresh injection to the student scene.

Student life here is pretty drab and dull. Dormitories are scattered and crowded. Students in the same dormitory hardly know each other. Boys and girls almost never mingle. Boys are almost all poor and few dress well. Most girls work as tutors in private homes in order to get some supplementary income. There is very little real group life since students are all busy about their own livelihood. Many students congregate in the various small tea-shops to do their assignments or play bridge. Some of them go to the Sunday

morning cinema in the city as the admission charges are the lowest during this hour. All students are suffering from malnutrition. Fortunately, the Kunming weather is not conducive to sickness. There are some students who get a kind of "Kunming fever" which is probably para-typhus. It is terrible to get sick in Kunming. A typhus case costs $6,000 or $7,000 for treatment. A deposit of $3,000 is required in order to get into the hospital.

Student taste is none too high these days. Very few speakers can get a large hearing except on topics such as men and women relationships. Very few students read outside books or even newspapers, and the most popular books are the Chinese translations of *Gone with the Wind, The Grapes of Wrath* and Nehru's *Autobiography* and all kinds of Chinese modern plays.

Student Christian work has not had a strong footing. There is as yet not a single student Christian group which has any vital significance. There is a group called the Holy Light Fellowship, but as far as I could make out the membership is quite small. Other groups are trying in various ways to build up interest, for Kunming is certainly a very strategic city for student work. It is true that the difficulties for Christian work are manifold. The following were mentioned in a student workers' meeting: 1) The students are too scattered and too individualistic; 2) More than half of them have outside jobs; 3) There are too many city attractions; and 4) The students have very little interest in Christianity and there are not more than a hundred Christian students in the university. Among the sixty-five students who attended the last Summer Conference there only three were Christians. But a friend in need is a friend indeed. The students in Kunming no doubt have great spiritual and physical needs. It presents a great challenge to the Christian workers at this critical hour.

KIANG WEN-HAN.

The Student Christian Movement in Denmark

A wartime report, November, 1943

The Danish people are sensible. They meet every situation with astonishing calmness; they are not easily excited by violent passions. On the other hand this calmness does not express silent resignation and *laissez-aller,* but there is hidden in it a unique power of tough resistance, by which the enemy may at times feel rather irritated. These are trends in the Danish national character of which we think we may be proud.

The same acute state of controversy has not arisen as, for example, in Norway. I refer to the real state of war that was inaugurated on the 9th of April, 1940, and still more to the fight of the Norwegian Church. Politically there was no enmity between Denmark and Germany. That was evident in the fact that the King, the Government and the Parliament went on functioning, though with some limitations and interferences from the German side. After the 29th of August everything was changed, when the lawful government was put out of action.

The first reaction to appear after the occupation, when the initial confusion had settled down, was a national revival, a unity around the cultural treasures of past and present, a deepened sense of history. Everything aimed at defining our national uniqueness and self-consciousness and thus guarding the Danish way of living and preventing foreign ideologies from gaining ground amongst the people.

As students, who took an active part in the events, and with whom every spiritual movement could easily be registered, we in the Danish S.C.M. were put into quite a new situation. We had at the same time to be faithful to our Christian faith, and to keep solidarity with our nation. Of course we were caught by the national enthusiasm, which perhaps never manifested itself more beautifully than when, on the birthday of the King—the man who in these years has become the central person of our country—we walked in large groups, with red and white student caps, with the national colours, down the streets of the capital, singing national hymns. Later on we joined the whole population in the courtyard of the Royal Palace to pay homage to our beloved King, perhaps more heartily than anywhere else in the world. On such occasions it was given to us to realise that we were *one* people, living in the deepest devotion to our King. No dividing forces have broken this unity. Denmark has been spared from seeing a new Quisling in action, although there was some danger of it.

Christianity and the nation

Thus the question for us, especially in the first years of the war, was the relation between Christianity and the nation. In our programme we had to give more room to national problems and a fairly large part of our membership demanded a wider cultural basis for it. Some good Danes spoke on our platform in these years, men who later on appeared on the black list or ended in prison on German demand. To characterise the conception we have reached of Christianity and the nation is no more possible here than it is in other countries. We may only say this, that we are both Christians and Danes, born and baptised to it. When we try to approach the prob-

lem in thinking, the difficulties arise. Life always solves that sort of problem much more easily by itself. We are clear that our national ideas should never be allowed to overshadow our Christian faith, nor should our faith support our national ideas. We have seen proofs enough that the Christian faith has been swallowed up by national ideas and that the former has been used to prove the latter. In planning conferences we have to guard against mixing the two conceptions but to keep them apart in order thus to save the deepened content of both.

Now we try to combine Christianity with the special problems raised by the war and our time. Examples may show what this means: Christianity and sexual morals, hatred, Christian patience and its limits, social problems, defence or pacifism, truth and lies (modern propaganda), the wholeness of life (euthanasia, abortion, etc.). This line is followed through the belief, strengthened especially by the work of certain theological professors, that Christianity is not removed from the world and should not be put away into the life of the soul; but that it must find its place in this life on earth. This should not be understood in the direction of identifying Christianity with a social gospel. It should be understood rather as meaning that we must not betray our human vocation as Christians. We have to be both men and Christians.

Political solidarity

This tendency, or insight, is really also the reason for a step that we have taken after a couple of years of thinking it over. Shortly after the occupation, quite a number of youth organisations, both political and unpolitical, united into *"Dansk Ungdomssamvirke."* They backed up the political collaboration between the different political parties supporting the government, and with this organisation they sought to underline the national community of the youth of the nation of whatever conviction. At the same time it meant an attempt to get our youth interested in politics; not thinking in terms of party politics, but creating the insight that the government of my country and my parish means something to me as an individual citizen of society. Part of the responsibility for the government of my country is mine. It is significant that a professor of theology, Hal Koch, is president of the organisation. Most organisations of youth have joined. We did so in October, 1942. How far it is possible to exercise Christian influence may be doubtful. We are in it because thereby symbolically we announce that we stand in solidarity with all youth in the situation of our country, and because our non-membership in a strange way placed us outside the society in which we are engaged in ourselves. *"Dansk Ungdomssamvirke"* has had its greatest importance in the fact that the Germans have understood

that if they wanted to raise a question, they had to deal with King, Government and Parliament. This was the lawful parliamentary Danish order.

In raising the question whether we have met through our meetings the needs of the students, it may be said firstly that one should not always act according to the wishes of people, but we should make it our task to bring them along the way we wish to lead them, to raise the problems ourselves and to answer them. Secondly, it is generally true of students that just now in time of war we are all so involved in the course of the war that there is hardly any place left for other problems, which, according to our conviction, are much deeper and more serious. The war creates superficiality, and the sense of spiritual values is forced into the background. Thus our work is growing more difficult, because we have to pierce through this hard surface. The problem of God's part in that which is happening is not as burning as you might believe. That is true about our people in general, and especially about students. We are quite clear about our living in a crisis of all our ideas and thoughts. We are looking out for something new, but at the same time we are nevertheless sticking to, and are on no account willing to let go, our most precious, and to us most essential, ideas, as for example our Nordic consciousness of right, our ideas of human rights and for us Christian students, the undiminished Christian Gospel. We feel that we live in an *interregnum* of the philosophies of life. With great interest the students of theology have followed a course of lectures on the book of the German, Martin Hieronymi: *Zwischen Ende und Beginn*.[1] And the same theological professor who gave these lectures has talked on this subject and the ideas of this book in wide circles. *Summing up, it may be said of our work in these years of war that it has partly given us a deeper understanding of the Gospel, especially in Bible groups, and partly confronted our Christianity with the special difficulties and problems, ideas and conceptions of the time.*

Lack of liberty

No obstacles have been put in our way by the German authorities beyond what it implied in the mere fact that we are cut off from getting certain persons as speakers, although we wanted very much to hear them, and are cut off from dealing with certain subjects, since there is no freedom of speech. There is still less possibility of writing freely. Because of some articles and notices, mostly of a sort that it is quite ridiculous to pay attention to, we have had some warnings from the Press Department of the Danish Foreign Office, an institution which watches over the keeping of the rules of censor-

[1] See *The Student World*, First Quarter, 1942, pp. 12-17.

ship laid down in collaboration with the German authorities. Here we have noticed still more strongly that we are living in an unfree country, where free exchange of opinions is impossible. We are working in close contact with the whole student press, mostly non-Christian, which has from time to time acted rather challengingly but very often under camouflage. Demands have been made of one or other journal to stop publication, or in any case to have it censored beforehand. These demands, however, have been raised by the Danish authorities. Through this press co-operation a common opinion can be observed both in relation to the German authorities and a very important point at one time, to our own nazis, who tried to gain contact with students through their own organisation and press. Their part, as well as that of the whole party, has now been played to the end. The Germans have seen that they cannot be used as a starting-point for winning the Danish people.

Because of increasing actions of sabotage, strikes and disturbances, on August 29th, 1943, there was established an exceptional order in the country, and this was felt as a clearing of the situation. Clear lines were created in the relations to Germany. The country of Denmark was no longer a "district protected by friends", but in fact in the hands of the enemy, without King, Government and Parliament in action. We feel that with this we have come to a truer relationship to the occupying power.

With this exceptional situation, difficulties began for us in earnest. Just as we were on the point of starting a new term and wanted to come to grips with the new students, we were hit by the prohibition of meetings, which nevertheless rapidly was annulled for all Christian activity and accordingly also for us. (In parenthesis it might be remarked that there was really no ground for being proud of this, as thus we came to know that Christianity really did not mean anything and counted for nothing.) But the difficulty was still present of coming to meetings, as there was soon a prohibition to appear outdoors after eight o'clock at night; and as thus prohibition has been in force throughout the autumn with one short interruption, we have been forced to have the meetings in the afternoon, when it has been rather difficult for many to come.

Protest against anti-semitism

We were moved in the core of our beings when, after some days of rumours, the persecution of the Jews came on the night of October 2nd. The Vice-Chancellor of the University immediately answered with a protest and the University was closed for a week. In the churches the following letter from the bishops was read:

"Everywhere where the Jews are persecuted as such for racial or religious reasons, it is the duty of the Christian Church to protest:

"1. Because we shall never be able to forget that the Lord of the Church, Jesus Christ, was born in Bethlehem of the Virgin Mary, according to God's promise to His own people Israel. The history of the Jewish people up to the nativity of Christ contains the preparation for the salvation prepared by God for all people in Christ. This is evident in the fact that the Old Testament is a part of our Bible.

"2. Because persecution of Jews is against the conception of man and the love of our neighbour, which arises out of the message that the Church of Jesus Christ has to proclaim. Christ is no respecter of persons, and He has taught us to see that every human life is precious in the eyes of God. (Galatians 3: 28.)

"3. Because it is against the sense of righteousness, reigning in the minds of the Danish people, a legacy from centuries of Danish-Christian culture. According to this all Danish citizens in the words of our constitution have the same right and responsibility towards the law and are assured freedom of religion. We look upon freedom of religion as the right of exercising our worship of God according to our vocation and conscience, and thus hold that race and religion never in themselves can provide the cause for robbing any man of his rights, liberty or property. Such freedom is more precious than life.

"The leaders of the Danish Church have a clear insight as to their duty of being obedient to law, not unnecessarily raising themselves against it, but at the same time we are in our conscience bound to proclaim the right, and to protest against every violation of right. Therefore we will all on a given occasion acknowledge the word, that we should 'obey God rather than man'."

Many other organisations also protested, both Christian and non-Christian. Our movement protested along with seven other Christian student organisations, amongst which was also the Catholic one. We had expected a reaction, but there was none. Undoubtedly this is due to the fact that the Germans disagreed as regards the question of the Danish Jews. The German "Chargé d'affaires" and the German Commander-in-Chief were against the persecutions.

We were bold enough to print in our monthly paper the protest,[1] but in Latin and followed by Chapter 5 of Lamentations. It was a rude trespassing of the rules of censorship, tightened after August 29th; but still, three weeks after the publication, nothing has happened to us!

It was most encouraging to see the grand helpfulness exercised in helping the Jews to escape. Quite a number of students took

[1] See *The Federation News Sheet,* June, 1944.

part in the effort. Night after night fishing boats went over to Sweden with refugees, and it was also possible to raise the considerable sum of money required.

We are most astonished that until now we have been able to live so freely and with so little disturbance in comparison with other countries. We simply cannot understand it.

But we have not yet seen the end.

Nevertheless we live in an expectation that peace is not very far away. Thus we know that we have to talk and work in earnest. . . . If we are allowed to have meetings in the spring we shall plan to concentrate on the end of war and the coming of peace. We shall talk of reconciliation, of our mission in the dechristianised countries of Europe, and such things. Or perhaps we shall face concrete issues, such as helping with exchange of prisoners of war.

And we cannot express how deeply we long for contact with Christians of other countries, because here we are terribly isolated.

Experiences in an Italian Prisoner of War Camp

The European Student Relief Fund, referred to in this interesting record of personal experience, is the European part of World Student Relief, in which the W.S.C.F. co-operates with International Student Service and Pax Romana. The book service is carried on in co-operation with the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y.M.C.A., and the Ecumenical Commission for Chaplaincy Service to Prisoners of War.

Since 1939 it has been my privilege to serve as chaplain to His Majesty's Forces—familiarly known as "padre". During this time I have had to minister under all sorts of conditions and in many zones—England, France, a troopship from England to Egypt via the Cape, in the Western Desert and Libya.

Then on November 21st, 1941, a new experience began. I was taken prisoner in Libya. And now, two years later, by a remarkable series of coincidences forming a tremendous drama in which characters and scenes changed with bewildering rapidity, I am in Switzerland. Looking back over those two years of captivity many things stand out, but one thing is specially significant: the important role Geneva has played in the lives of us prisoners. I can only speak for Italy, but I am certain that I express the thoughts of my friends in Germany as well. Now that I have seen the "other end" of the educational assistance to prisoners I am filled with gratitude and

admiration for the essential work that is being done by the Geneva organisations.

When I realised that I was a prisoner I became hopelessly bewildered—perhaps stupefied is the right word—but for a moment or two I had the presence of mind to choose some belongings—only as much as I could carry. These included a small haversack of books which included a Schofield Reference Bible, a parallel New Testament—Moffatt and Authorised Version. Both had been presented to me on very memorable occasions and were greatly treasured. There were two other books, *A Companion to the Bible,* containing a series of lectures on Hebrew History, Archaeology, Introduction to the Old and New Testaments, and perhaps ten other subjects. The other book was *A Christmas Companion* which I had bought during my last leave in Cairo in September.

Equipped with this small library I started on my experiences as a Prisoner of War and I shall never cease to be thankful that I was able to bring it along with me. On November 27th I reached my first stone prison camp. There I found myself with other officers, but I was the only one who had some books. Try and visualise this large number of men thrust into a very small building where it was almost impossible for one man to get out of the sight of others. Here was a body of men representing the culture and tradition of practically all the British public schools and universities. Many others came from universities in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. We had men drawn from every section of English life—practically all the professions and trades were represented, men with different outlooks on life—truly an England in miniature, and all this was contained within four walls; privacy was utterly impossible. From now on we all had to share a common life, and for all we knew to the contrary, this might go on for years.

It was not long before we realised that our greatest enemy was going to be boredom—or as one officer expressed it—sheer futile languishing. We were in a Transit Camp and consequently there was absolutely nothing organised for recreation. Our resources at that time were two packs of cards and some notepaper to be used for "battleships", "cross-word puzzles", even "noughts and crosses." What a hopeless prospect! We had to fight boredom with all our might; life was bad enough without that.

Strange as it may seem, this situation created for me a unique experience—an experience which I would never have found in civilian life (known in the Army as "civvy street"). Now I realised the value of my small library. Every day there was a waiting list for my Bible and New Testament; a most remarkable situation. Many of these officers had not read the Bible for many years. Admittedly, the motive may have been to pass the time, but the time

allowed for each reader was *one hour*. From now on, my Bible and New Testament were passed from hand to hand daily.

With the aid of my *Companion to the Bible* I began a series of lectures on the Historical Background of Hebrew Literature in which I dealt with the story of the Hebrew people in the light of contemporary history. As this story unfolded itself, I tried to show how very gradually the literature was begun, how it was collected, edited, revised and re-edited and so on until it reached its present form. Almost every officer attended these lectures. Again, I must admit that the motive may have been to pass the time, but what impressed me most of all was the large number of men who were genuinely interested in the Bible—for the first time in their lives. They explained that in "civvy street" they were occupied with so many interests and activities that there was no time to deal with subjects about which they would like to have known more; now the time had come when their bodies and activities were in prison, but their minds had never been so free—free to get down to subjects hitherto neglected, and to deal with fresh matter.

Christmas was approaching, and it was decided to hold rehearsals in view of a carol service on Christmas Day, My *Christmas Companion* contained a number of familiar carols. Some notepaper was obtained with difficulty, and as I dictated the words the officers wrote them down. However, before this could be carried out, the first party of officers was taken from Africa to Sicily by troop-carrier plane. I was included. On Monday, 22nd December, we were in our new billet at C. and until Boxing Day we lived in an old church. The building was small but very high—lit by two electric bulbs which were always masked. A Christmas touch was added when we saw the bale of straw which was going to be our bedding. During our first night there we received the Commandant's permission to practise our carols. On Christmas Eve I was joined by a Church of England padre who was my colleague for eight months in the Desert. We were captured within a few days of each other, but he had been confined to the men's camp adjoining the officers' camp I have just mentioned. Just before bedtime we sang our carols in a setting which was reminiscent of the First Christmas—a very old building—subdued lighting—and piles of straw.

On Christmas morning at 6.30 my friend and I held a communion service in which we both shared. He served the bread—a piece of our last night's ration, and I served the wine—some chianti which an Italian soldier managed to get for us. Seventy-four officers attended—a most wonderful experience. But the deepest impression was made on the minds of many by the fact that a Free Church minister and a Church of England clergyman shared in that service.

From December 22nd till Boxing Day (26th December) my Bible and New Testament were used as much as ever, and the dis-

cussions were continued. On 26th December we left for our new camp in Italy. Here, reading material was as scarce as ever, and my small library was in full use again. This continued for all January, 1942. But in February we got heaven-sent news. A young officer, who was captured long before me, had been in hospital. Here he managed to get a good stock of books. When he arrived in the camp, he added his books to the small stock we had already gathered. One day he said to me: "Padre, why do you not write to the European Student Relief Fund, 13 rue Calvin, Geneva? They were grand friends to me." Some of us immediately got in touch with Geneva. We applied for textbooks on various subjects, Law, History, etc., and began to live for the day when our parcels would arrive. Unfortunately, before we received them we were sent to another camp, a Carthusian Monastery in P. This was a new camp, and when we arrived there was not a single book in the place. However, the great day dawned for two of us—our parcels arrived within a week or two. You who are fond of reading will realise what that moment meant for us. For months we had been hungry for books. I learned this lesson: when one is surrounded by all the good things in life, one does not realise their value, but when one has been torn away from them all, their full significance is seen for the first time.

Anyhow, I hurried along to the office to get my parcel. It was opened in my presence, and then I saw Fischer's *History of the Church*, Warner and Martin's *Groundwork of British History* and *Myths and Legends of Babylonia and Assyria*. But my full happiness was not yet—the books had to be sent to Rome for censorship; even the empty exercise books had to go!

I must tell you of one incident at P. Three officers, who had tried to escape, were sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment in a fortress which was a "bad boys' camp". One came to me and said: "Padre, is it possible for you to lend us a Bible? None of us has one." The only available one was my treasured Schofield Reference Bible, but I gave it to them. On their return the officers inscribed a message of appreciation and wrote their names.

My books came back in June. What a tremendous feeling it was to get my hands on them. I seemed to take a new lease on life and at last I could read to my heart's content. This was also the experience of the other officers who received their parcels. In July I was transferred to another camp. When I arrived there, my luggage was searched and the Italian officer took away my Schofield Reference Bible, the Parallel New Testament, all my lecture and sermon notes, private letters, and photographs including some of graves taken in the Desert. These I was keeping to send to relatives. The censor explained that I would get them back as soon as possible. Months passed, but nothing was done.

During this very difficult period when I had to minister to three thousand troops, I received more parcels from rue Calvin, and one contained a Reference Bible! Now, I could start all over again with my lectures and addresses. At the same time I discovered a lad who was hoping to go into the ministry after the war and from the same source he had received some splendid books, even a Peake's commentary.

In the month of March, some of the books which had been sent to the censor from my last camp were delivered to me, but every one had the cover torn off and some were fearfully dilapidated. However, the books were none the less valuable to me. For my ministry, from June, 1942, till September 8th, 1943, I was entirely dependent on books from rue Calvin and the Ecumenical Commission for Chaplaincy Service. I cannot imagine what life would have been like if I had not been able to get hold of these special books. I shall be eternally in their debt.

In this brief account of one prisoner's experience I have tried to give you an idea of what happened to books when they were sent from Geneva. Those who send them were in no way responsible for the hopelessly long delay in reaching their destination. In many cases, too, we were not allowed to send the cards acknowledging their receipt.

However, no word of mine can express our feelings when we eventually did receive those books. To make it possible for a prisoner of war to have his special books is one of the greatest services you can perform for him. That life was reasonably tolerable was due in a great degree to the magnificent efforts Geneva has made and is making.

One of the greatest experiences of the past few weeks was to visit Geneva and see for myself the men and their staffs who worked behind the scenes. A file-number, one of many, but I am certain of this, that in voicing my own gratitude as an ex-prisoner of war, I am speaking for all prisoners of war in Germany and Italy who have been so splendidly served.

A Scottish Congregationalist.

BOOK REVIEWS

PEOPLE, CHURCH AND STATE IN MODERN RUSSIA. By Paul B. Anderson. *Student Christian Movement Press, London, 1944. 6/-. American enlarged edition, Macmillan, New York, 1944.*

Perhaps among living men—Russians included—Paul B. Anderson possesses the most extensive knowledge of the printed materials for the appreciation of present day religious and Church life in Russia. For at least two decades he devoted himself to the gathering and study of these materials, publishing for a time a periodical series of pamphlets, based on Soviet sources, about Russia's religious and cultural life. Mr. Anderson has mastered the Russian language and was an eyewitness of events in Russia at the time of the first world war and the beginning of the revolutionary period (1917-1918).

But, at the same time, Mr. Anderson is not a mere observer but also a sincere friend and admirer of Russian Church and culture. He spent the half, or more, of his service to the Russian Church abroad as a Y.M.C.A. secretary in Paris. He efficiently assisted the Russian Student Christian Movement and the Paris Theological Academy; he founded and managed the Russian Y.M.C.A. press, which was the main agency of preserving Russian theological and philosophical thought exiled from the mother country. And yet he has not allowed himself to be influenced by the political attitude of the Russian emigration. Indeed, as every reader of his book can see, his sympathy for Soviet Russia is large and generous, embracing even her official doctrines.

It would seem that all conditions are present to secure in Mr. Anderson's book the best, the richest and most unbiased representation of its subject. And certainly it is the best book on the Church in Russia, or at least, one of the best books, together with Professor N. S. Timashev's recent publication.

Its chief merit consists, as may be expected, in the richness of the material made accessible to the reader by generous quotations. Practically all references are to official (Soviet) sources. One of the peculiar qualities of the book is the author's excellent acquaintance with doctrinal Marxist literature which accounts for his ade-

quate understanding of the communist approach to religion and the Church. In ten chapters of the American (enlarged) edition the reader finds the precise exposition of the "Legal Position of Religion" (2), of the doctrinal background of the conflict—"Marxism and Religion" (4) and under different headings, the continuous history of the Russian Church under the Revolution. A separate chapter which brings in quite new and very important material is entitled "The Patriarchal Church and Other Churches" (8) and contains, in large quotations, the exposition of Patriarch Sergius' opinions on the ecumenical problem and, especially, on the canonical status of the Anglican Church. Although for the author himself his historical work is only a way to the understanding of the present situation, this historical part is by far the most valuable. Particularly fine in their objectivity are the pictures of the schism of 1922 ("The Living Church"), and of the everyday life of the Church in the thirties.

On the other hand in the opinion of the reviewer, he fails in his approach to the present situation. There are two main reasons for this failure. Mr. Anderson, like practically all kind and well-disposed people, is unable to realise the spiritual atmosphere in a totalitarian state where words serve not to express but to conceal one's thoughts. During the first Marxist period of the Revolution words corresponded, at least, to the conviction of the Communist Party. Hence it was relatively easy to characterise the motives and the means of the Party in its dealing with the Church. Since about 1936-37, the year of the great trials, Marxism has ceased to be a living force in Russia. The new, third, revolution (after those of 1917 and 1928-29) was directed against the Marxist leaders and disciples of Lenin and ended with their thorough extermination. Yet Marxist phraseology still lingers in Russia, misleading the credulous reader. Mr. Anderson quotes abundantly from the so-called Stalin's Constitution of 1936 which never had any application in Russia and was a pure piece of propaganda. He also quotes, without any critical analysis, addresses of Stalin and resolutions of Sergius although, of all people in Russia, these two are most interested to conceal their real intentions.

Mr. Anderson did not realise the social meaning of the revolution of 1936: the creation of the new ruling class, of technocrats, specialists and army officers, the new hierarchy based on state service as in the old Russia of the 17th and 18th centuries. For this new ruling class a new ideology was created: that of state nationalism. Marxism in the new doctrine is expurgated of all egalitarian, "socialist", elements and is considered only as the materialistic interpretation of history; thus the Marxism of Lenin is out of place in the approach to the present day Russia.

In the optimistic conclusion of Mr. Anderson, people, state and Marxism represent a solid unity into which now comes the Church as a fourth partner. Now when this war came upon Russia, we had all grounds for believing that state, people and Marxism were already in mutual separation. Incidentally this explains partly the terrible defeats of 1941. Some trustworthy eyewitnesses tell us that the mood of many Russian people in the first months of the war was not far from defeatism. All changed when the people realised the ruthless oppression which the German conquest was bringing to the country. Mr. Anderson attributes to Stalin the honour of uniting all Russia around himself and his régime, an honour which, perhaps, is due more to Hitler.

With regard to the Church the particular, although very respectable, *idolum specus* of Mr. Anderson is his long standing personal loyalty to the Metropolitan Sergius. He simply takes his line of conduct as that of the Russian Church. Since all the members of the opposition are in prisons or in concentration camps it is obvious that the voice of Sergius was the only audible one. We who are outside are deprived of all means to decide whether Sergius was leader of the majority or minority of the Church. Only a qualitative judgment is allowed.

Within the Russian Church, where many spiritual and social tendencies are living and struggling, the Patriarch Sergius represented the line of survival, and not revival. For the old orthodox people of this type liturgy is the only meaning of the Church's existence, and no moral or religious sacrifices are too great if they can secure the continuation of a legal liturgical life. Sergius did not believe in martyrdom, in "the blood of the martyrs as a seed of the Church". He went so far as to declare all the recent martyrs of the Russian Church as political criminals. (Of course it was one of his "pious" official lies.) He stopped the purifying process of the Russian Church which alone could justify all the horrors of the revolution and he began a backward movement to the times of his youth where the Church was subservient to the State. The personality of Sergius is, certainly, a complex one. The time of the final appreciation is not yet come. Yet it is a mistake to count him of the same spiritual generation as Berdiaev, Bulgakov or Merezhkovsky. His part in the "Religious Philosophical Meetings" of 1902 was rather an official one. He was appointed president by the Church authorities (Pobedonostsev) in order to check the liberal movement. Stalin used him again at the end of his career, as a survivor of the old régime, when all conservative forces were called upon to save the Russian land which could not be saved in the name of the Revolution alone.

G. Fedotov.

A Christian Approach to Communism, Ideological similarities between Dialectical Materialism and Christian Philosophy. By Tiran Nersoyan. *Frederick Muller Ltd., London, 3/6.*

This little book is a good corrective for those who, even at this date, are inclined to give their support to communism or to Christianity on the basis of superficial reference to the "real" achievements of one or the other. The author seeks to clarify the issue by analysing the philosophical elements in each, deducing a common terminology, and pointing out the correlation as well as the distinction between them. By this process he comes to the conclusion that Christian philosophy, being a more comprehensive world-outlook, includes Marxism in itself. However, he does not allow the reader to settle down in content, but forces him constantly to realise that you cannot reach this conclusion unless you stretch the framework and energise the doctrine of the Christian Church. Father Nersoyan's book is therefore both clarifying and stimulating.

In a way, Father Nersoyan, who is the Rector of the Armenian Church in London, brings forward the struggle that went on during the first decade of this century between Lenin and the "searchers after God" or "makers of God", which led Lenin to some of his sharpest polemics on religion, principally two letters addressed to Maxim Gorky, and his article on religion and the Party. Nersoyan's approach is not polemic but synthetic.

In light of this position, it is possible to consider practical life in Soviet Russia as an expression of Christian principles no less than of communist. The churches in the U.S.S.R. could not and cannot possibly remain blind to this fact, however opposed they may have been to the atheistic element in dialectic materialism. On the other hand, the Party's efforts to eliminate any kind of faith in God, due to its fanatical devotion to materialist science, show that they do not bother to know nearly enough about God and the faith of the Christian Church. Hopes entertained for religious freedom on the assumption that the Soviet Government is opportunistic are misplaced and misleading. "Changes in Soviet policy do not imply change of principles. Marxist teaching is that methods should be adapted to circumstances as they arise." All things are relative to these principles. Therefore freedom of worship is not freedom in the usual sense of the word, because Marxists consider religion to be in essence separated from Soviet life, and it is given "freedom" only as an accommodation to historical circumstance. To meet this persistent antinomy, it is necessary to engage communist doctrine at its fountain-head—dialectic materialism, the dogmatics of communism, of which atheism is an integral element.

The author says that the idea that the Soviet Union has done better without religion than other countries with it, is itself a chal-

lenge, to be disposed of not by argument but by achievement. To "leave it to the Almighty" is both lazy and un-Christian. Rather there must be bold understanding and sympathy, a sincere appreciation of what is good in the communist camp, and an effort at reconciliation, utilising an essentially Christian strategy. Thus the author states that, under the communist system, the personality of the individual is not submerged, but retains its individuality even when integrated into the greater life of corporate society. He draws a parallel between this integration and the sacramental principle in Christian doctrine. This enlargement of the individual on the economic level is one of the strongest factors in striking a blow against selfishness. While not yet attained in actual practice in the U.S.S.R., freedom is the ultimate ideal of communism, and it is the business of the state to realise this freedom for the individual. The harshness and cruelties reported from Soviet experience are due to the "indispensable acceleration of the process of transformation". One may ask if, from the Christian point of view, the process might not better have been slower, if thereby human suffering could have been reduced.

A Christian who is conscious of the warm love and presence of Christ has a kind of dread of the philosophy of cold materialism, but Father Nersoyan boldly asserts that dialectic-materialism is a vitally relevant faith, in direct contact with the objective world and, in effect, a creed for the Soviet state. Yet it is not a religion, for it is divorced from the supernatural, which is indeed denied by their faith. One of the chief charges against religion is this "flight to phantasy". Besides, religion is considered anti-scientific, because it allows for super-natural energy, and is the servant of capitalist interest. To this charge the author replies by asserting that Christianity is super-scientific in that it consecrates science by consecrating the physical body, nature, and therefore nature's laws. On the economic level the Church has always advocated the rights of the exploited and stood against social injustice; it is a fallacy to confuse Christianity with some of the clergy. Yet Christians as a whole will have to make their position clear: either with or against capitalism, as this word is commonly understood.

"Communism, as it exists, is a powerful rival of Christianity not because it persecutes religion but because, in those spheres where it has a positive and constructive teaching, it is in possession of truth." It is not ultimately dangerous to Christianity because its attitude toward realities beyond its sphere of positive interest, e.g., toward the spiritual realm, is only negative. Communism wrongly assumes Christianity to be against truth. Christian philosophy, on the contrary, is capable of accommodating what truth there is in communism, retaining its own, and rejecting what is false on the fringe of

both. This is the task of the Christian philosopher, and of Christian practice in actual life. The author is confident that communism is "susceptible of such accommodation". He quotes Engels as saying, "with each epoch-making discovery, even in the sphere of natural science, not to speak of the history of mankind, materialism has to change its form." So if once materialism begins to look upon the universe as a whole and carries its dialectic process forward and outward, or "in other words, takes the materiality of the universe as an isolate in a qualitatively infinite entity," then "it will have to step out of its gross materialism and arrive at a comprehensive spiritualism. Christianity must help dialectic materialism to take this step." It can thereby acquire the dynamic and find a place in socialist society, whereas to divorce it from material truth leaves it stagnant in capitalist society.

Communist atheism is an inner conflict between human weakness and depravity, on the one hand, and the unlimited grandeur of human vision, on the other. "But the conflict has to be reduced. Communism will have to see God as He shows Himself to men. Communism will have to cease to be afraid of its vision."

It is impossible to summarise briefly the author's dialectic process of drawing conclusions from the logic of paralleled Christian and communist philosophy, because each step in the process is essential. It is gratifying to see the attempt made so neatly, and it all comes down to this question: (communist) absolute being, absolute truth, absolute energy = (Christian theological) One God—the Father as Being, the Logos as Truth, the Spirit as Energy.

A merit of this essay lies in its consistent attempt to reveal the spiritual elements and trend in dialectic materialism, particularly as practised as a philosophy in Russia, while at the same time indicating the earthly and social elements in a truly Christian theology. The two are brought to a common focus. It is an attempt which can only be made by Christians, because communists will assert that their philosophy has no focus except in the material universe. The author points out that dialectic materialism was developed by Engels and Lenin in conflict with the philosophical idealism of Hegel, and asserts that Hegel was a red herring—that there is no real conflict with true Christian philosophy. It is true that a distinction must be drawn between Hegel and Christian philosophy, but it does not follow that communism might not have a conflict, though a different one, with Christian theology. The chief point is that the dialectic materialist contemplates no eventual focus. Lenin wrote that Marx added to Hegel and Feuerbach, so that earlier materialism acquired new elements. "The greatest of these acquisitions is dialectics, i.e., the teaching of development in its most complete and deepest sense, free from one-sidedness, the teaching of the relativity of human

knowledge, giving us the reflection of eternally unfolding matter." And in another place he writes, "following in the direction of Marxian theory, we shall draw nearer and nearer to objective truth, without actually reaching it; following any other path, we shall arrive only at confusion and falsehood." (Materialism and Empiriocriticism.) Father Nersoyan tries to arrive at a distant focus, instead of fixing our eyes on "eternally unfolding matter", which is bound by the dialectic process to be concerned with immediate and earthly things. He would correct this miasma of communism, and believes that by the use of the bifocals of Christian philosophy, both the earthly and the heavenly may be clearly discerned.

PAUL B. ANDERSON.

THREE RUSSIAN PROPHETS. By Nicolas Zernov. *S.C.M. Press, 8/6.*

"In our days the destiny of the whole Christian civilisation is at stake; its future will depend on its acceptance or rejection of the vision of the Church as seen by Khomiakov, Soloviev and Dostoevsky."

Such is Nicolas Zernov's thesis. Such are the facts.

The Russians in exile have made a great contribution to the life and thought of the Federation. Everyone knows something of the thought of Berdyaev. Many will agree with the reviewer that when he discusses the great social forces and issues which confront Europe, Berdyaev invariably "hits the nail on the head".

Three Russian Prophets enables us to drink directly from the deep well of thought and experience from which Berdyaev and the Russian S.C.M. have drawn. (It does this by a vivid study of the work of Khomiakov, the layman who was really Russia's first theologian, Dostoevsky, the Christian novelist, and Soloviev, the philosopher who envisaged an ecumenical church.) Most of us have been fed on vague factless condemnatory propaganda about the Russian Church. Insight into its life and thought has also been prevented for us by the isolation of Russia due to its geographical position, by the fact that its literature has been almost a closed book to us, by the "speechlessness" of its culture. Until the nineteenth century Russian Christianity expressed its emotions, and insights into the nature of life, in architecture, painting, music and carving rather than the *media* of discourse and debate familiar to the Roman lawyer and to Protestant polemic. Now that the significance of the Orthodox way has become articulate in the writings of Khomiakov, Dostoevsky, Soloviev and others, no Christian can fail to appreciate the voice of God's prophets speaking in terrible judgment on Western

Christianity and realise the crucial importance of deepening his understanding of Orthodoxy.

To whet your appetite and entice you to read this great book, I shall quote extensively from the fifth chapter:

"The Orthodox Church so often described in the West as obsolete and superstitious was the tutor and guide of these three great Russians. They learned from her how to approach the perplexing social problems of the scientific age and how to understand modern man . . . they differed from those Christian thinkers who have explained the present crisis as the consequence of social and economic changes brought about by the machine age, and sought remedies in the re-establishment of a Christian Order not unlike that which collapsed in the West at the time of the Reformation.

"Khomiakov, Dostoevsky and Soloviev were more radical. They believed that the defects of Christian civilisation were so serious that they required more drastic changes. The root of its failure was the confusion as to the nature of the Church which distorted the thought and action of the majority of Christians."

Christians gave up their original freedom and accepted forms of church life modelled in accordance with the pattern of the Roman Empire. "Law and rules were promulgated, salutary discipline was imposed, necessary punishment of the slack and reluctant was inflicted, an army of well-trained officials was provided, and the grandiose structure was crowned by a single head, obedience to whom was the guarantee of the unity and stability of the whole edifice. But the magnificent temple had one defect. Its plan did not correspond to the intention of the Master-Builder.

"The Church grew richer and stronger but it was not the kind of strength and wealth promised by the Incarnate Lord to His disciples. . . . Schisms did not improve matters. Besides a Church shaped like an empire the Christians produced churches organised like city republics, private associations and clubs. . . . The Protestants achieved freedom but at the expense of unity. Yet neither unity without freedom nor freedom without unity was any use. . . .

"The Communist Revolution has been a decisive event in the religious history of mankind. . . . The doctrine of Communism reflects the two sides of the personality of its founder. On the one hand it obediently follows the materialistic trend of European thought, denies human freedom, accepts selfishness as the prime motive behind all human actions, treats men as parts of a vast mechanism, describing their conduct and feelings as entirely conditioned by economic necessity. But on the other hand, Marxian teaching represents the most violent protest against the lack of belief and against the egotism and disintegration of the European people. It is a revolt against the enslavement of men to matter, and a call for

the restoration of human dignity and freedom. Marxian Communism is an unusual mixture of science and prophecy, and this is the source of its driving power, for it appeals both to the intellect and to the emotions and touches the deep religious strains of the human soul.

"There has been long and persistent misunderstanding in the West as to the causes of the conflict between the Communist State and the Russian Church. . . . The majority of the clergy and the bulk of the laity belonged to the poorer classes in Russia before the revolution. The privileged and well-to-do seldom showed any interest in church life. There was therefore, no ground for church opposition to the economic and social reform introduced by the Communists. The clash occurred on account of the radical difference between Christian and Marxian teaching on God and Man.

"The Russian Revolution has a world wide significance but its message is primarily addressed to Western Man, whose problem the Communists have tried so radically to solve. It marks the end of the long period of scepticism and religious confusion. It sets before mankind the inspiring task of establishing an integral social order, and it challenges all the conventions, customs and traditional beliefs on which the majority of European peoples have relied for two thousand years. . . .

"Communists and Christians have more in common than is often realised. There is a greater gulf separating them from agnostics than that which parts them from each other; they both believe that mankind has its special task, and has the ability and power to fulfil it, but because they differ radically in their attitude to God, they use opposite weapons for the achievement of the ultimate goal. The Communist system bears the seal of its militant atheism and materialism in its ruthless treatment of individuals and subordination of all values to the economic interests of the collectivity.

"The Russian Revolution presents, therefore, the unique sight of a battle between the omnipotent State and a helpless Church. It is difficult to imagine two adversaries more unequal in power and status. . . . The atheists in Russia have been defeated because they met a force which is stronger than man. . . . The Christians of Russia have been tested by one of the hardest of all trials, the sense of being abandoned and forgotten by all. Yet they were not fighting only their own battle, for the conflicts, doubts and contradictions of the whole history of the Church were brought to their climax in the tense struggle between them and the atheistic State."

One is tempted to quote the whole book. But let this be sufficient to suggest that Zernov tackles and illuminates the basic issues about the relation of Christianity to Western society with which every intelligent Christian must grapple.

JOHN COLEMAN.

THE WRETCHEDNESS AND GREATNESS OF THE CHURCH. By W. A. Visser 't Hooft, translated from the French by Dorothy Mackie and Hugh Martin. *London: The Student Christian Movement Press, 1944, pp. 88. Price, 2/6.*

No one knows more about what the Christian Church really is and really ought to be than the author of this compact and sober account of the present position of the Church in the world. Dr. Visser 't Hooft's own intellectual pilgrimage has been marked by the clear recognition of the difference between an interpretation of Christianity which is preoccupied with the diffuse and peripheral issues of culture and of character and an interpretation of Christianity which knows what is central and vital to its survival and effectiveness in the world. The theological rediscovery of the Church in which continental Christian thought since the first world war has culminated has shaped the point of view and the interpretation of this book. No one knows more about the aspiration and the failure of the contemporary Church to be the Church than Dr. Visser 't Hooft. As one of the joint secretaries of the World Council of Churches, he has been at work in Geneva during the second world war and in constant, indeed, almost miraculous, touch with the life and thought of the Churches separated from one another by war and oppression yet guided by a sense of unity, of fellowship, of uniqueness of purpose and opportunity unknown in Protestantism since the Reformation. With notable sobriety, Dr. Visser 't Hooft appraises the greatness of the Church today without optimism and the wretchedness of the Church today without despair. He can do this because he sees behind the widespread indifference and hostility toward the Church the failure of the Church to express its only greatness, namely, that it is the Church of Jesus Christ. On the other hand, he sees that the totalitarian issue of our time has not inaugurated but rather has sharpened the self-examination and penitence of the Church so that hidden within its present distress is the promise of integrity. Thus, the wretchedness of the Church is not "the fact that the world has declared war upon it" (p. 5) but the failure "to be altogether and wholeheartedly the Church" (p. 6). And the greatness of the Church is not its prestige and influence in the world but that "in His patience God still offers us time. The Word of God is there and . . . it is given to the churches to speak to the world as they have not been able to do for many a long year" (p. 6).

In order to understand what the Church really is and what is really going on in it today it is necessary to understand the paradoxical fact that "we live in an age that is at once the age of the anti-churches and the age of the Church. It is the time of the destruction of the Church but also of its rebuilding" (p. 6). The

author undertakes in four chapters to aid this understanding. He thinks that this paradox is the distinguishing characteristic of the Church in the world and explains its indestructibility in history. For the Church is the people of God whose history begins, whether we like it or not, in the Old Testament claim that God has chosen to make His will known in the world through a special people. By God's own "process of concentration", "there comes the supreme moment when the people of God consists of a single Figure" who makes the way "plain for a new people of God" (15). Thus by a single and unique act of atonement the exclusive particularism of a race is transmuted into the inclusive particularism of a people which "lives by the Spirit of God". This "new people" is inclusive because it embraces all mankind. But it remains particular because all mankind is included not by virtue of its humanity but by virtue of its acceptance of the fact that "one died for all" (2 Cor. 5: 14). This means that "the wall of separation which had stood between Israel and the other peoples" has fallen and that God has formed "His own people from among all the peoples of the earth" (16). It means that there is "a new phenomenon in the history of the nations". This new phenomenon is the Church which is "a different people", a "new people, united not by earthly bonds, but united in Christ, whose body it is" (17).

The author does not conceal the fact that this view of the Church is meaningful only in terms of a two-dimensional understanding of history. There is a "vertical history" which consists of the acts of a God "who reveals Himself in action" (9) and an "horizontal history" which can be understood as a "chain of cause and effect" (24). It is impossible to understand the Bible, according to the author, and the Church which is based upon it, without orienting life and thought around the points of intersection between the vertical and the horizontal dimensions of history. We may not like it that God behaves in this way, and we may set out to get a different kind of God, but the fact remains that the Bible and the Church are meaningless except they are understood in terms of a God whose activity is defined by the Atonement.

But this is only the starting point. Dr. Visser 't Hooft then goes on to show that it is really the attempt of the Church to understand itself in other terms than these which is chiefly responsible for its impotence in the world. And by the same token it is the recovery by the Church of this understanding of itself which promises a new birth of freedom and of power for its life in the world. A culture which had come to take the world for granted and to trust in the rational and benevolent capacities of men to order their private and public life finds itself menaced by a totalitarianism which makes divine claims for a nation, or a race, or a class and which triumphs over the illusions and the anarchies of its opponents. The churches

which have suffered under this totalitarianism have been driven to reaffirm the existence in the world of a people of God as the only safeguard against the demonic particularism of collectivist states and as the only kind of particularism which can hold a global world together in community.

The author has seen these things happen in the churches of the occupied countries and his account of them is brief but moving. His deepest concern, however, is that the signs of promise that are to be seen shall not be lost to the Church because of untimely fears or faithlessness. Accordingly there are three forthright chapters which suggest what must happen to the Church as it exists in the local parish, as it exists in relation with other churches in a universal church, and as it faces the practical problems of life in the secular world. The emphasis placed upon biblical preaching and Bible study and upon the recovery of the diaconate and the eldership as spiritual ministries rather than administrative offices in the local parish; the insistence upon an ecumenical spirit in the churches which shall not confuse the merging of denominations with the holy, catholic Church but which shall raise anew for each of the denominations the truth or falsity of its own position in the universal Church; the candid account of the extent to which the Church does have a common mind about its message and function in the contemporary world and the extent to which Christians are still divided about their faith and duty; these are the considerations which make this book a particularly valuable handbook of information and stimulus to all who are seriously exercised about their own relation to the Church and about the vitality of the Church today and tomorrow, I think the paragraphs dealing with the way in which the ecumenical spirit in the Church clarifies the Roman in distinction from the Reformation conceptions of the Church *catholic* (pp. 58-63) and the paragraphs which suggest that the recovery by the Church of its office in the world as the Body of Christ defines for the Church its "political mission" (pp. 76-88) are deserving of special consideration and commendation.

One lays this book aside with a strong sense of the gulf that separates the continental from the American churches. Perhaps the best index of this situation is the extent to which the British churches are being drawn toward the outlook and the practice of the continental Churches even though the military and the political circumstances in the midst of which they find themselves suggest a stronger tie with America than with Europe. This may mean only that in the ecumenical as well as in the global world Britain is destined to mediate between divergent points of view and rivalries of power. It could also mean that the theology and the suffering which have revitalised the Church on the other side of the Atlantic have still too

largely bypassed the Church in America. Dr. Visser 't Hooft is not unmindful of the serious thought and effort which have been devoted to the question of the nature and function of the Church and to the "six pillars of peace" by American theologians and by committees of the Federal Council of Churches. But his frank acceptance of an inner logic of the Bible as the basis of the Church's existence and duty in the world is still very foreign to American Protestantism which—though no longer in open conflict—is widely affected by the difference between those who think the inner logic of the Bible has to do with salvation but not history and those who have been so preoccupied with the salvation of history that they have found it possible to conclude that the Bible has no inner logic at all. Again, there is a growing disquiet in America over the lack of interest and opportunity among the laity in ordering their daily thought and work in terms of specifically Christian ideas and commitments. But the professional groups referred to in this book (pp. 36ff) who meet to discover what they ought to do as Christians in their several professions is very far from a significant aspect of American Church life.

On the other hand, the continental position of the author has naturally led him to a starting point and an emphasis which seem at a distance to be somewhat abrupt and oversimplified. The biblical emphasis of the opening chapter seems preponderantly textual in view of the insufficient notice which is taken of the horizontal dimension of history which the biblical dimension is supposed to intersect. The author is correct, of course, in suggesting that it is not persecution but faithlessness which constitutes the primary wretchedness of the Church. But he has perhaps not sufficiently indicated the importance of persecution for the continental rediscovery of the Church so that those of us who belong to non-suffering Churches may be more urgently moved—not to covet suffering—but to a readier acceptance of the theological insights which have been born of the sufferings of our brethren.

This book is a convincing account of the ecumenical spirit as the primary fact and responsibility of the contemporary Church. It is the more convincing because it views the ecumenical spirit more as promise than achievement. But it is also a convincing forecast of a crisis which threatens almost prematurely to overtake the ecumenical spirit. The issue is whether a faith nourished by suffering can be confessed with equal fervor and integrity where no real suffering has occurred. If so, then the ecumenical promise of the contemporary Church in every corner of the world is the work of the Holy Spirit, for "the Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God" (Rom. 8: 16).

PAUL LEHMANN.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE MODERN WORLD: An Essay in the Philosophy of University Education. (Foreword by Reinhold Niebuhr.) By Arnold S. Nash. *Macmillan Co., New York, $2.50.*

One great merit of this book is that it inveighs with equal power against both a dead scholasticism and a dead positivism. The author is searching for an adequate frame of reference for higher education today. In this search he rejects alike the position of "scholastic metaphysicians" and their modern intellectual counterparts, the "logical positivists". Any who are still committed, therefore, to the kind of humanism fathered by Auguste Comte, or even represented by John Dewey, will bristle at Mr. Nash's book. Says Mr. Nash: "John Dewey's writings on education are filled with illustrations of this tendency of the modern mind to absolutise his own criteria in the act of attacking others as arbitrary." (p. 117.)

The University and the Modern World is a comprehensive, at times discursive, book. It is certainly ambitious and from the outset claims a broad scope for its investigation: "The real crisis in the universities of today has its origin in the crisis in liberal-capitalist democracy, for a university, like any other social institution, expresses both the vices and the virtues of the social order in which it exists." (p. 8.) The first of the three parts of the book, called "The Plight of the University," finds the relation of the university to the social order expressed by the spectator theory, the ambulance theory, or the participant theory—with few achieving the role of participators. Participation even to the extent of launching a thousand university settlements in less than fifty years after the opening of Toynbee Hall in 1885 has not prevented the leaders of working class movements from viewing the settlement movement as one calculated to ease rather than remove the tensions of our modern industrial society.

Another aspect of the plight of the university is its capitulation to the dogma of measurement—"the modern archangel is measurement and gaily do we invoke his aid to measure the immeasurable" (p. 41). An example of this is a sociologist's attempt to measure happiness. Another is Sorokin's course on "Social Dynamics" described as "a physiology of human society". This leads to an uncritical acceptance of a dogmatism of science which reveals a state of decadence since "younger teachers of philosophy have lost self-confidence and have rejected traditional metaphysics in favour of the barren creed of 'logical positivism' " (p. 46, cf. also, p. 142).

The good and bad effects of the Protestant Reformation will never be satisfactorily adjudged. Just as the familiar Troeltsch-Weber-Tawney theory charges Protestantism with furthering the

emergence of capitalism so Mr. Nash says that Protestantism also furthered the emergence of modern experimental science. Scientific individualism was given its head and soon assumed a dominant position in the university. But it was to decline. It took too seriously Newton's misplaced warning, "Physics beware of metaphysics." Further, it bowed the knee to the false god of Reason with the result that "science, which began as an anti-rationalist movement, has rivetted on to the modern world an exaggerated trust in the power of reasoning, which equals, to use Whitehead's phrase, the rationalistic orgy of the Middle Ages." Mr. Nash disproves that science is presuppositionless, that it is completely independent of philosophy, and that it views reason as a neutral arbiter between contending opinions. In vain the modern liberal democratic tradition has rewritten the Shorter Catechism so that the purpose of man is "to be scientific in thought, word, and deed."

After passing judgment on liberal democratic education in such a forthright manner Mr. Nash looks at the record of nazism and communism. A friend of mine, an able philosopher, said that Part II, dealing with the totalitarian university as revealing a true diagnosis but a false remedy, is the strongest section of the book. Truth as trans-national, learning as universal, are rejected by the nazi attack and regarded as absurd. But the nazi is right in regarding knowledge as not presuppositionless, as serving a purpose other than itself, as not ultimately objective but conditioned, as not atomic but a unity. The nazi remedy, however, is wrong because of its totalitarian view of man and its insistence that education be used simply for the good of the state and the race.

The same perversion characterises the Soviet University. On the good side Marxism maintains that knowledge must serve a social purpose and is socially conditioned, and it believes in the possibility of the universalisation of knowledge through the development of science. But the inner dynamics of Marxism are such that they make a total demand for support in any field, as when J. B. S. Haldane is found proving that Marx, and Engels in particular, were the "harbingers of the quantum theory". The class dogma has at last made the most significant social analysis stop short. André Gide recognises this when, after his return from the U.S.S.R. he writes: "There are things more important in my eyes than myself, more important than the U.S.S.R. These things are humanity, its destiny and its culture."

In his third and final part aimed at a reconstruction Mr. Nash seeks to make us "see why, for the modern world, the achievement of some common frame of reference is a commanding necessity." The sociology of knowledge will be determinative in the epoch before us and much depends on whether the relativist, the absolutist,

or relationist theory of knowledge is accepted. The intellectual anxiety of man leads him to the problems involved in "absolutising his point of view". But some stand must be taken and Mr. Nash finds "a fresh source of wisdom . . . from a re-interpretation of the Judaic-Christian tradition which, having outlasted the fall of many civilisations, has therefore a source beyond any one of them." (p. 253.)

Mr. Nash rejects the *speculum mentis* based on Thomistic metaphysics and so vigorously championed by Hutchins and Adler. He does this because we cannot turn our back on the new knowledge of man and the universe revealed by modern science. If, however, scholasticism turns out to be an idol with feet of clay the present regnant scientific positivism is nothing but an intellectual polytheism. To create a *Weltanschauung* which avoids both liberal atomism and totalitarian dogmatism is therefore the task to which Mr. Nash calls us. This cannot be done by providing an education which is religiously neutral. The secularisation of our private colleges and the exclusion of religious teaching from state universities are deplored. What is needed is a fellowship of lay theologians and Christian scholars who regard it as part of their vocation to create a Christian world view in the university. The present crisis is a world crisis. It can be met only if the liberal democratic university becomes "a witness to the glory of God", discovering the meaning of Christian vocation for a man or woman who is a chemist, sociologist, etc., applying Christian criteria to the presuppositions relevant to the study of individual academic subjects, and working toward an intellectual synthesis strong enough to be set over against the positivistic, Marxist, and humanitarian alternatives.

In dealing with the problem of unity with freedom, faith and education, Mr. Nash is constructive and realistic. He carries on very ably the thought of William Adams Brown's smaller volume *The Case for Theology in the University,* published in 1938. In the present volume, including its comprehensive and valuable notes on bibliography, Mr. Nash has given us a study which in its own way is of more significance than Mr. Van Doren's much discussed book on liberal education. It is a very real contribution toward realising the dictum of Alfred North Whitehead: "The essence of education is that it be religious."

A. Burns Chalmers.

THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine of the World's Student Christian Federation

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EDITORIAL

Taking Stock for the Future

We have come to a moment in the life of the World's Student Christian Federation when those who are conscious of being part of it must take stock, and measure themselves against the tasks of the future. The war years may have proved difficult for an organisation which purports to unite students of all nations in a common loyalty, but the strains of a period when the life of the world is being reshaped may bear even more acutely upon it. While certain national Student Christian Movements have suffered terribly during the war, and none has escaped its effects, the fellowship of the Federation itself has been accorded a mystical or symbolic value, which is partly justified and partly misleading. It is justified in that it reminds us that our unity in Jesus Christ has remained a reality in the hearts of many individuals associated with national movements, though those students who have had direct "Federation experience" have become a small and senior band. It is misleading in that it hides from us the extent to which we have been torn apart, or have grown apart, for there are new forms of enmity and estrangement between nations and races, which we have not faced as a Federation simply because we have not been able to meet.

The truth is that the Federation is far more commanding of our loyalty when we are realistic about it, than when we are merely

sentimental. As an international body made up of national movements our membership is not large and our influence is not great; in the eyes of the world the Federation lives only by leave of powerful human forces to which it makes its protests and its accommodations. But that is not the whole story. In the last fifty years we know that God has done a great work for students through the Federation as an ecumenical organisation. He has been doing it, as the pages of this journal show, during the years of war. We have therefore confidence in praying, and believing, that He will yet use it for His purposes, according as we are faithful and teachable. Therefore, as we turn to new and difficult tasks, we do so, not as those who would seek to reconstruct a fellowship of which they have affectionate memories or fond hopes, but as those who are called to a fresh endeavour for God. The supreme task of the World's Student Christian Federation at every time is to make Jesus Christ known amongst the students of the world, and we can rely upon Him to weld us together, dangerously and painfully, into that unity which He has chosen to create that the world may believe.

What then are some of the particular responsibilities before the World's Student Christian Federation in the days ahead?

1. In some countries the Student Christian Movement will have to be rebuilt from the foundations, and in every country some rebuilding will be necessary. National initiative must be the mainspring of such efforts, but here is surely the place where the reality of our Federation will prove itself. The experience of those leaders who have learnt much through suffering about the meaning and purpose of their movements must be shared with those to whom no such direct illumination has come; while the optimism and faith derived from a continuing S.C.M. life must be made available to restore traditions that have been lost. No movement must be crippled from lack of financial resources, which others could supply. A visiting secretary, from another country, may be able to help in looking for national leaders. Exchanges of picked students for rest or service, for training or inspiration, must be planned and carried through. Pioneering movements must be aided in their development and brought more fully into our fellowship. All this naturally involves the strengthening of

the staff and facilities of the Federation itself. This is the task of Federation Reconstruction.

2. The conception of World Student Relief, linking the ongoing work of relief in China, and in Europe, provides the pattern for a vast extension of activities on behalf of students, as active hostilities come to an end in West and East. All the fine work during war of the National Student Relief Committee in China, or the European Student Relief Fund in Europe, of the various national I.S.S. Committees, and the World Student Service Fund in the United States, is our inspiration towards a far greater work in co-operation for the rebuilding of student life. Our association with International Student Service, and Pax Romana (the Roman Catholic student secretariat) in World Student Relief, forms a rallying-point for the constructive elements in the universities. Students in the isolated universities of China, and in prisoner-of-war camps, student internees and refugees, as well as students in the countries which have been spared, have been drawn already into a great comradeship. Upon that foundation to play our part in the rebuilding of student life wherever it has been destroyed, is our task in World Student Relief.

3. The Student World *has carried many articles which have illustrated how the whole relationship of the Christian faith to university education is under examination. There is a growing conviction that we must not be content to preserve little centres of Christian intention in a world of culture which is leading ever in a contrary direction. In a word, we are aware of Christian isolationism in our own movements, but not yet clear as to the steps we must take to combat it. Is not a new period of opportunity opening out before us which can be entered by relating our two tasks of the rebuilding of Christian movements, and the rebuilding of university life? Let us use our minds and wills to see that the Christianity we proclaim in our movements and in local groups has the sharpness and integrity that will make men look twice at it. And let us be ready, in that unusual co-operation with a wider range of university men which student relief offers us, to show what we have learnt from Christianity about the ordering of our common life, and the ends of all our study.*

R. C. M.

A WAR-TIME SURVEY

The Life of the W.S.C.F. from August, 1941, to August, 1944.

Robert C. Mackie

According to the constitution of the World's Student Christian Federation a General Committe, composed of representatives of all the national Student Christian Movements, should be held every three years. The last meeting of that committee was held at "La Roche-Dieu", the headquarters of the French S.C.M. at Bièvres, near Paris, in August, 1938. In August, 1941, because the world was at war, no committee could be held, and so we published in the Fourth Quarter of The Student World for that year a survey of the life of the W.S.C.F. during the three-year period. Now another triennium has passed and it is still impossible to hold a meeting, though the day is not far distant when "La Roche-Dieu" will be restored to its rightful owners. The best we can do is to publish again a brief survey of a period which falls entirely in war-time, in the hope that within the next three years we shall be able to renew at a representative meeting the ties between the Movements, which in all the ways open to us have been steadily maintained.

It would be possible to begin this survey with an account of the closing or emptying of universities, and the transporting of students to battle-fronts, prison-camps, or forced labour; with a catalogue of the sufferings of many Movements and individual leaders; with a list of activities, which have been restricted or prevented. That indeed is the background which war creates for an ecumenical organisation like the W.S.C.F., and it must be kept in mind by the reader of these pages. It would be possible to show how the weaknesses of the national Movements and the Federation have been forced to the surface under pressure, or have allowed us to miss opportunities in a time of trial. But we prefer in all humility to record the experiences and achievements of these years, which indicate so clearly that the Holy Spirit has used our human plans and efforts, and given us full assurance for the days ahead.

Contacts through Travel

In the autumn of 1941 plans were almost completed for Moni Sen of the Indian S.C.M. to visit student groups in Malaya, but

events moved too quickly and "Pearl Harbour" put an end to this possibility. The same event removed the best-known traveller of us all from circulation. T. Z. Koo had finished a tour in Australia and New Zealand, and had been visiting interior China; he came down to Hong Kong just before Japan went to war with the United States; his passage by "clipper" was cancelled, and he was caught in Hong Kong during all the horrors of siege and capitulation. Later he and Mrs. Koo were able to join the younger members of the family, and news of them has come from time to time. Now we wait in hope that once again we may have his leadership.

The chairman, W. A. Visser 't Hooft, and our headquarters secretary in Geneva, Suzanne de Dietrich, were able to pay visits to France in 1941, and Olivier Béguin of the Swiss S.C.M. made a special journey to Hungary; André de Blonay, General Secretary of International Student Service, who had undertaken the Executive Secretaryship of the European Student Relief Fund, was able to begin his visits to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, and to make many contacts amongst student refugees, internees as well as prisoners. The time was ripe for a visit from outside Europe to Geneva. Roland Elliott, treasurer of the W.S.C.F., set off by plane towards the end of November, 1941, via Lisbon. He made contact with the French S.C.M. and with those who were working in refugee camps in France, and then had some memorable days in Switzerland, seeing the work for internees, and consulting the W.S.C.F. and E.S.R.F. leaders in Geneva. He returned to New York in the end of January.

In 1942 our colleagues in Geneva were again able to visit France for conferences and consultations, and our chairman visited Great Britain in May. Though this visit was in his capacity of General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (in process of formation), it was of great benefit to the Federation. In June the General Secretary, who travelled widely during this three-year period in Canada and the United States, paid a brief visit to Mexico. In September Alan Booth, who had been Secretary of I.S.S. in Great Britain, and was joining the general secretarial staff of the British S.C.M., visited the United States for the meeting of the International Students' Assembly in Washington. This visit provided an excellent contact between the British and American Movements. In November the General Secretary set off from Canada to visit Great Britain, where he had an extensive and varied programme.

In the course of his three months in Great Britain in the early part of 1943, the General Secretary was able to spend the first two weeks of March in Sweden. This was a most useful opportunity, not only of visiting the Swedish universities, but of conferring with Birgit Rodhe, then General Secretary of the Swedish Church S.C.M. and still the W.S.C.F. representative of both the national Movements, and with Harry Johansson, of the Sigtuna Foundation, a member of the Executive of the W.S.C.F. The General Secretary also had the privilege of a conversation with Dr. Karl Fries, the first chairman of the W.S.C.F. who was to pass away later in the year. But the fact that André de Blonay, General Secretary of the E.S.R.F. and Yngve Frykholm, a member of the E.S.R.F. staff, could come to Sweden during that time made discussions possible which have proved of great importance in our plans. All these links were further strengthened by the visit of Birgit Rodhe across Germany to Geneva later in the year, and by the appointment of E. C. Reckard, a chairman of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council in the U.S.A., as a member of the British S.C.M. staff.

In the first three months of 1944 the General Secretary paid his second visit to South America, and in June Helen Morton, a vice-chairman of the W.S.C.F., spent two weeks in Mexico. Here we might also record that the visits of Kung Pu-Sheng and Huang Siu-Chi of the Student Y.W.C.A. of China, and of Lyman Hoover of the Y.M.C.A. to the United States, gave the officers of the W.S.C.F. in the U.S.A. a unique opportunity of consultation. No doubt there have been other inter-movement connections. For part of this three-year period the New Zealand Movement had an Australian General Secretary, and later a Canadian Travelling Secretary!

Staff and Publications

It will be seen that the staff of the W.S.C.F. was further cut down during the early part of this period, until Suzanne de Dietrich in Geneva, and the General Secretary in Toronto, comprised a complete team of two players who were unable to meet! In the latter part of the period, however, the situation began to change. While the General Secretary was in Great Britain in 1943 Helen Morton made his prolonged absence possible by visits to the Toronto office, and in the summer she began to give her full time, as vice-chairman, to the work of the Federation.

In the autumn of the same year Roland Elliott began to give his full time, also, as W.S.C.F. officer for relief and reconstruction. In this capacity he has become a staff member of World Student Relief, and acts as secretary of the North American Affiliated Committee. Since our treasurer is therefore fully in the service of the W.S.C.F., the chairman has nominated Luther Tucker, now secretary of Dwight Hall, Yale University, as deputy treasurer. At Easter, 1944, Marie-Jeanne de Haller, a young Swiss graduate, joined Suzanne de Dietrich at headquarters. In August, 1944, Francis House and his wife re-entered the service of the W.S.C.F. with their eyes on South-Eastern Europe, and Eric Duncan, a former secretary of the British S.C.M., came under appointment for September in order to pick up some of the many actual and potential contacts with European Movements which London now provided. In the same year Tracy Strong Jr., who had been on the E.S.R.F. staff since 1940, became a W.S.C.F. Secretary, lent to the E.S.R.F. with the same duties. It should be mentioned here with gratitude that Birgit Rodhe from her vantage-point in Stockholm has served the Federation voluntarily in a remarkable way.

Throughout the three-year period THE STUDENT WORLD has appeared regularly from the Toronto office. It is interesting to note that the writers during the period represent eighteen nationalities. The journal still reaches directly forty-seven countries including three in Europe; and material from it has been from time to time more widely circulated in Europe. The *Federation News Sheet* has also been published regularly in English, with news from forty countries; and it has appeared in a somewhat different form, from the Geneva office, in French. China has latterly produced her own edition on the basis of material sent by air. The only other W.S.C.F. publication during the period was a Federation Grey Book, *Rediscovering the Bible,* being the story of Bible study in the W.S.C.F. written by Suzanne de Dietrich. Since its publication in the spring of 1942 this powerful little volume has made its influence felt widely, and has been issued also in Spanish, Swedish and French editions. We might also record here that in 1941 Dr. Mott presented the official archives of the W.S.C.F. "through 1928" to the library of Yale Divinity School as a part of the "John R. Mott Library". Miss Ruth Rouse has been giving detailed study to the archives at Yale for her work on a history of the W.S.C.F.

The Process of Consultation

While it has not been possible to hold a general or an executive committee meeting, this does not mean that the machinery of the W.S.C.F. has been wholly impeded. Against the wider background of informal consultation, already indicated, the officers of the W.S.C.F. who found themselves on the North American continent, Helen Morton, Roland Elliott, Luther Tucker and Robert Mackie, have met regularly and circulated the minutes of their meetings to the Executive Committee members they could reach and certain other national leaders. Frequently they have called other representatives of national Movements informally into consultation, and W. A. Visser 't Hooft and Suzanne de Dietrich have followed the same procedure in Europe. Indeed they went further and played a leading part in two Ecumenical Study Weeks in April, 1943, and January, 1944, in Switzerland.

Naturally the principal items of discussion have been concerned with the future rebuilding of the life of the W.S.C.F. and the national movements. The appointment of staff, already referred to, is part of the process, and in August, 1943, a first draft of a programme for reconstruction was issued to the national movements. Since then much further useful discussion has taken place. But we must leave to a future survey any judgment as to the value of these plans. Certainly they have been prepared with the whole life of the W.S.C.F. in East and West constantly in mind. In all this work of planning, as well as in the month by month work of watching developments in different parts of the world, and acting in any way that might help the national movements, the officers have found the co-operation in the Emergency Committee of Christian Organisations invaluable. E.C.C.O., which was founded informally at the outbreak of war has brought the General Secretaries and other representatives of the various ecumenical organisations originally based in Geneva into frequent consultations both in Geneva and in New York. No major step which might affect the future of the ecumenical movement has been taken without careful study and discussion.

Mutual Assistance

Early on in this period the officers saw that they would need increased funds at their disposal, just when it was difficult or impossible for many national movements to contribute. They would express their gratitude to those movements which continued

to send contributions, and in several cases increased them substantially. A reconstruction budget was prepared for the latter part of the three-year period, and a number of additional gifts secured, notably from friends in Great Britain and from churches in America through the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction. From these available funds the officers have made certain grants to movements and individuals in relation to the suffering caused by the war. Of course this is only a fraction of the far greater obligation, and need for funds, which is coming on the cessation of hostilities. The officers and those whom they have been able to consult have set themselves the task of finding resources to restore and extend the work of national movements and of the Federation itself. This has been increasingly seen as a foremost duty, not only to the student world, but to the Church as a whole, which is in such need of younger Christian leadership in many parts of the world.

It will be remembered that the National Student Relief Committee of China, and the I.S.S. Committee in China, have been carrying student relief since 1937 with financial assistance from Europe, America and many other parts of the world. Then in 1940 the European Relief Fund was set up in Geneva on the basis of an agreement between International Student Service, which undertook the burden of administration, Pax Romana (the Roman Catholic international student secretariat), and the W.S.C.F. The new development is a natural outcome of these efforts, which remain unchanged. In 1943 World Student Relief was founded, again with headquarters in Geneva, and on the same tripartite basis. This action was taken with two main purposes in view: the first to deal on a global scale during the war with such needs of students in distress, as could be met; the second to prepare as adequately as possible for the great tasks of student relief and reconstruction which the cessation of hostilities will open up in so many countries. The setting up of subsidiary W.S.R. Committees in London and New York has been a further step in accordance with this plan.

For a complete picture of all this relief activity during the war the attention of the reader is directed to three publications: *Fighting Against Hunger and Despair,* a European report, *Serving Students in War-Time China,* produced by the National Student Relief Committee, and *The Story of World Student Relief,* produced by the World Student Service Fund in the U.S.A. All

these publications and any other information may be obtained from the W.S.C.F. headquarters in Toronto, if it cannot be obtained nationally. A rough calculation has been made that a total of $1,500,000 has been raised by students for students throughout the world from 1937 to 1944. The pages of the *Federation News Sheet* have never failed to carry news of this great enterprise in all its poignancy and resourcefulness. The courageous students of China have been helped in an ingenious variety of ways, as their situation has become increasingly desperate. In Europe, in North America, and in other parts of the world, prisoners of war have been helped to continue their studies in conjunction with the work of the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y.M.C.A. It must be realised that more of the students of many countries have been in prison camps than in the universities. Internees, refugees, and students experiencing every form of disability have been searched out and assisted. In India and in Russia, from Finland to North Africa, the work has gone on. And if much of the time of national and Federation leaders has gone into it, that surely was only to be expected. As a Federation we care about the welfare of all students and welcome our co-operation with I.S.S. and Pax Romana to that end. It is encouraging that plans for the same common service in the post-war period are so far advanced.

Thinking Ahead as Christians

One of the most interesting developments in this three-year period has been a series of consultative meetings planned and carried through on an international scale. Here are the places and dates: Poughkeepsie, 1942 (U.S.A.); Présinge, 1942 (Switzerland); Kenilworth Hotel, London, 1943; Poughkeepsie, 1943; Geneva, 1943; Sigtuna, 1943 (Sweden); Aurora, 1944 (U.S.A.); and Présinge, 1944. These meetings frequently represented informally as many as twenty nationalities and a dozen S.C.M.s, but no attempt was made to suggest that they were other than occasional gatherings of available delegates, called together by the officers. In addition to these meetings from which reports have been published in the pages of THE STUDENT WORLD, many informal groups came together in China, in India, in the River Plate and so on, to discuss the same questions.

The result has not been the production of any political blueprints or agreed positions; indeed no such effort was attempted. Rather those who came together talked about the great issues which their minds and consciences were facing, and then shared their concerns with similar groups in other settings. In general it might be said that it was the biblical foundations, and ethical implications, of Christian thought which claimed most constant attention. Nothing epoch-making was produced; and yet some questions were sharply put, and powerfully answered. Perhaps the most notable achievement is a common area of concern from which to start the essential discussions which must take place when we meet again in official conferences and committees.

It is interesting to note that one subject often touched upon was "The S.C.M. in the University". The crisis of culture, and of the University, has been increasingly in the minds of leaders in different countries, and has been reflected in the pages of THE STUDENT WORLD. Some able national university leaders have started a discussion which is likely to increase in importance as the years go by. With this in mind the officers have encouraged correspondence and articles on the subject which may provide material for our plans after the war.

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The real life of the W.S.C.F. is in the life of the national movements. It has not been possible to ask for, or assemble, official reports in war-time, but a great deal of information has been available through correspondence and magazines. Much of this has been issued through the *Federation News Sheet,* and the summary which follows is entirely dependent upon these sources.

Europe

The full story of the Student Christian Movements in Europe during the war cannot be told at this date, or from the North American continent, but some account of their suffering and resourcefulness can, and must, be given. Only two of the countries in which Movements are to be found remained neutral: *Sweden* and *Switzerland.* Swedish universities have contained twelve thousand students, and have continued the work of scholarship in a warring Europe. But events taking place around them have had their effect upon the student body. There has been not only the calling forth of sympathy, but often a conflict of sym-

pathies. Swedish students have responded by raising large sums of money for student relief in Finland, Norway and further afield, and the S.C.M. leadership has realised the exceptional opportunity of Sweden as a connecting link in the Federation and as a country where the thought of the Federation could be carried on. The *Swiss* Movement has gone through a process of reorganisation, which is perhaps not yet complete. Increased co-operation between the German-speaking and French-speaking sections has lately been in evidence and the biblical nature of conference programmes has been a fine feature. Two student chaplains are at work in Geneva and Lausanne, and a third is being appointed in Berne. Perhaps the most interesting development has been that of the Cluny Community, a fellowship of prayer and social service, which arose out of the Movement. The students of Switzerland also have been very generous in their contributions to student relief.

In contrast to these two fortunate countries we have to report that very little news has come from Eastern Europe. *The Federation News Sheet* during this period has carried no direct information from *Roumania, Jugo-Slavia,* or *Czechoslovakia.* From *Greece* messages of courage and fellowship have come from time to time from a senior leader. The *Bulgarian* S.C.M. carried on into 1942, when its existence was officially ended along with other organisations with international affiliations. Later an Orthodox Christian Academic Centre came into being; and the former General Secretary has kept in valiant touch with Geneva, on at least one occasion by a personal visit. The two S.C.M.s in *Hungary* seem to have gone steadily ahead, though more news has come lately from the *Soli Deo Gloria,* or Reformed Church movement than from the *Pro Christo* movement. On Palm Sunday, 1943, at their annual festival two thousand students and schoolboys took part in a meeting in Budapest; on Palm Sunday, 1944, a smaller group met, and with a deep sense of responsibility carried on its Bible study in shelters during an air-raid. From *Czechoslovakia,* round which a zone of deep and tragic silence has been built, we have only heard of the death of one or two leaders, and of the suffering of others.

Turning again to Northern Europe there have only been fragments of news from *Esthonia* and *Latvia,* where indeed student work had ceased with the Russian occupation in 1940. The

Movement in *Finland,* a country where the student population has been tragically decimated, was not able to hold its summer conference in 1941, but did so in 1942, behind the fighting lines. One encouraging feature is the continuance of the magazines *Etrejä* and *Ad Lucem* through these years of darkness. Remarkable evangelistic meetings were held in the autumn of 1943. The *Norwegian* Movement produced its report for 1941-42 and 1942-43. Its magazine has had to cease publication, and with the removal of students from Oslo in November, 1943, and later the arrest of its chairman, one would have expected the end of the Movement. Not so; it has carried on amongst university students, though schools work has largely ceased with the disruption of higher education. The Christian students have been splendidly aware of their responsibilities. It is interesting to note that last winter there was a study circle of exiled students in Uppsala in which members of the S.C.M. and of the group associated with Professor Hallesby took part. The *Danish* Movement carried on steadily after the preliminary occupation in 1941, sending out messages and reports, and even taking part in relief enterprises. In 1942 it faced the question of taking part in the Danish Youth Collaboration and after much discussion decided to unite its witness with other youth organisations. That same year the *Kristelig Akademisk Forenig* of Copenhagen celebrated its Jubilee, though its history has not been wholly unbroken. The removal of all independent government in August, 1943, faced the Movement with serious decisions, and it has stood courageously by its convictions. There have been friendly contacts with the movement in *Iceland* through members of the British S.C.M. in the army.

The Student Christian Movement of the *Netherlands* has long been one of the strongest in Europe, and perhaps that is why it is one of those that have suffered most. Indeed in Europe a certain pattern may be detected in all these accounts. After occupation there has been a surprising period of normality, then a period of discussion and decision in the Movement as events have challenged it. At this point a new relationship to the churches has been worked out, and shortly afterwards has come official suppression or voluntary dissolution with informal groups continuing, and then the sudden or gradual end of university education. The Dutch Movement stands out as the one with the clearest history in this situation. In 1941 three hundred students met for

the observance of the Universal Day of Prayer for Students, and a similar number took part in a summer conference, while there were a thousand delegates to the Schools' camps. In this year a relationship was worked out with the Reformed Church Youth Council. Then suddenly on January 8th, 1942, after forty-six years of unbroken life, the Movement voluntarily disbanded rather than submit to certain qualifications as regards membership, which would have placed it in the category of an "Aryan" Movement. "Organisationally there is a great change; spiritually there is no change." Yet in 1942 we hear of the work of student pastors in different centres, who are former leaders of the Movement, and of twelve hundred school boys in camps. Early in 1943 there were missions in several universities with hundreds of students attending; the Day of Prayer for Students, held in March, was attended by 350 students and old members; in May of the same year the universities were to all intents and purposes closed, and no schools' camps could be held that summer. But groups of students have persisted in studying the problems of Christianity and the life of the university, and in planning for the future.

Perhaps the small size of the *Belgian* S.C.M. has been its protection. Maintaining its contacts with the outside world through the Netherlands, through France, and latterly through messages to Great Britain it has continued to work in its three associations, using all its pre-war knowledge of the Federation to remain in fellowship with it. The *French* S.C.M. has had a chequered and interesting career, sharing the suffering of the country and its power of resistance, maintaining conferences and publications concerned with its evangelistic task in the universities and the community, and utilising its great asset of contact with the outside world through Geneva. The division of the country in 1940 meant the division of the Movement, the section in the occupied zone identifying itself with the Reformed Church youth work, and the section in the unoccupied zone maintaining its independence, even under the curious period of *la zone ci-devant non-occupée.* Early in the war the S.C.M. had joined in the relief activities of the inter-movement committee, known as *Cimade,* and continued to play a leading part in the assistance of refugees and unemployed. In 1941 it joined the Protestant Council of Youth and shared with other youth groups in courageous statement and action. The removal of students to labour in Germany in 1943

greatly affected the Movement, as the absence of many leaders in prisoner-of-war camps had done since 1940. The whole university life of France has been disrupted in 1943-44. In the end of 1943 through Federation contacts the French S.C.M. group in *Algiers* linked itself up again with the parent movement. The *Russian* S.C.M. in emigration seems to have quietly continued its existence in Paris right through the war though communications have been sketchy and infrequent.

In *Germany* the S.C.M. had officially gone out of existence in 1938, but contact has been maintained in Geneva and Stockholm with former leaders. In 1942 came news of a work of evangelism amongst students, in 1943 of Bible Study Circles. Amongst the wounded, in the army, and through letters to members in the forces and in the prisoner-of-war camps contact has been maintained with students.

Asia

It is interesting to discover that the two countries supplying the largest number of items in The *Federation News Sheet* during the three-year period are *China* and *India*. The students of both countries have been greatly affected by war, and famine, and political events. Indeed the accounts of student relief activities in China read like one long epic. But these very difficulties seem to have stimulated the Student Christian Movements into a surprising number of freshly inspired activities. The leading secretaries of the Student Y.W.C.A. and Student Y.M.C.A. in *China* have carried out prodigious journeys in the period. Especially our vice-chairman, Kiang Wen-Han, seems to have been almost continuously on the move. The Y.W.C.A. moved its headquarters to Chengtu in the autumn of 1941, but it was not until the spring of 1942 that the Student Y.M.C.A. was established in Chungking. Much of the time and energies of the student staff, standing in 1944 at 23 men and 9 women in the field, has naturally and rightly been taken up with the detailed administration of student relief. But some of this preoccupation, at any rate, has been clear gain from the point of view of Christian work. The S.C.M. is now firmly established in isolated university centres, which are really uprooted government universities. Further there have been experiments in missions to students across the vast interior of China, particularly worthy of note being the Youth

and Religion deputations of the winter of 1942-43. A new emphasis on the importance of middle-schools has been made, partly as a result of this work of evangelism. Large numbers of students have been reached with a presentation of the Christian gospel. Then there must be recorded the annual observance of the Sino-Japanese Day of Prayer in the end of April, which the Chinese Movement has not allowed to lapse, and which we can be sure has not been forgotten by their Japanese fellow-students.

Of the Movement in *Japan* there has of course been little record in W.S.C.F. publications. An excellent account of the war-time situation of student work by Tsunegoro Nara was published in The Student World, Fourth Quarter, 1941, and this was brought up to date—at least until the period ending June, 1942—by an article by Russell Durgin in the Third Quarter, 1943. Further a student secretary of the Y.M.C.A. was in the U.S.A. in the autumn of 1941, and had many talks with national and Federation leaders. We must suppose that the work of student groups in the colleges, with its strong biblical and theological interest, has continued.

The S.C.M. of *India, Burma, and Ceylon,* held a national conference in Kandy, Ceylon, in December, 1940. This meeting resulted in a *Three Year Plan* which appeared in the winter of 1941-42 and was accompanied by a series of excellent studies for local circles. There has been much interest in the relation of the S.C.M. to other Christian youth movements and to the churches. One indication is the launching of a Student Volunteer Movement in the Madras-Vellore area, and an increased emphasis nationally on personal dedication to service in the churches. War has touched the shores of India, and closed the activities of the Movement in Burma, where there has been much suffering, and from which refugees have come to be aided by Indian students. Recently famine has caused misery and death in Bengal, touching students directly and indirectly. But the main national problem affecting students has been the strained and deteriorated relationships between India and Britain. As one would have expected, this crisis has been discussed frankly between the Indian and British Movements. The sense of Christian fellowship has remained, and contacts with British and American students, serving as soldiers in India, have been appreciated. Perhaps most significant of all has been the increase in friendly relationships between the Christian students of India and China, and the wel-

coming of visitors who have crossed the perilous routes between the two countries.

In the autumn of 1941 came a letter from the *Philippine Islands* to Helen Morton speaking of "a little flame that you kindled here" during her visit in 1940, but, alas, once again we shall have to coax that flame into life. From *Singapore* came news of the expected visit from India, but again silence has supervened. Happily with the temporary exodus of American missionaries and Y.M.C.A. workers from *Thailand* we have picked up a new contact. The Collins Memorial Student Centre was opened in Bangkok in 1941, and, so far as reports go, is still open. We look forward to developing relations in the future. The S.C.M. in the *Netherlands East Indies* is a corresponding member of the W.S.C.F. and one very conscious of its obligations in the larger fellowsip. In November, 1941, there arrived in Toronto a generous cheque for Movements in distress; in the same month a letter was sent bearing cheering news of increased membership and inter-racial co-operation. The last cable which was despatched on February 25th, 1942, with its courageous echo of the Amsterdam World Christian Youth Conference, *Christ triumphant forever,* was the best guarantee of future reunion in a common service.

Australia round to Britain

In the autumn of 1941 *Australia* and *New Zealand* were rejoicing in their publications in a recent visit of T. Z. Koo and remarking on the feeling of remoteness from war, but the change after "Pearl Harbour" was rapid. Indeed in both countries the universities were drastically affected, and, consequently, the programme of the S.C.M. In *Australia* no national conference has been possible during the war, though state ones have been held. In one case at least, a "fellowship of study" was introduced on a nation-wide scale in place of a conference. Travel has been exceptionally difficult, and the draining away of student leadership has been acutely felt. On the other hand the Australian S.C.M. started right in with the problem of interned refugees from Europe and rendered magnificent service, and, as one of its leaders has said, "horizons have been lifted" by the widespread participation of Australians in the war. The *New Zealand* S.C.M. was much affected by the tension caused by drastic mobilisation and the nearness of war, though some of these effects

have passed off. One conference was cancelled, but others have been held. Perhaps the most notable advance has been in the establishment of three new student chaplaincies in Auckland, Dunedin, and Wellington, in addition to that in Canterbury. This development is based on excellent co-operation between the churches and the S.C.M.

Crossing to *South Africa* one finds the Movement apparently least affected of all by the war. Reports have come of the fine, newly-completed headquarters in Stellenbosch, and of a remarkable increase in the number of members, especially in the Schools during recent years. The *Bantu* Section suffered for a time by reason of the transfer of its travelling secretary to North Africa as an army chaplain but he has returned to rapidly increasing opportunities. The development of secondary education amongst the students for which this Movement carries on its fine work has placed before it the predicament of inadequate resources for a great and expanding task. The South African S.C.A. has on several occasions made hopeful contact with groups in *Southern Rhodesia,* and our hope is that after the war a Movement may be built up in that country. But it is in *West Africa* that a Student Christian Movement is spontaneously coming into being. The fact that so many West African students have studied in Britain has led to this development, and there are even plans for a full-time secretary in the area in the course of a year or two. There would seem to be seven branches of this future Movement: five in *Nigeria,* one each in the *Gold Coast,* and *Sierra Leone!* Away across the continent there is a student association at Makerere College, *Uganda,* which is coming into contact with the W.S.C.F. The next period should be one of advance in Africa.

The S.C.M. of *Great Britain and Ireland* has carried on with remarkable imperturbability in spite of being situated at the base of gigantic war operations. The headquarters, which had been removed from London, returned in the autumn of 1943. While the effect of war upon the numbers of students in the universities was gradual rather than abrupt, the potential membership has been enormously reduced. Yet we hear of four or five small, well-filled summer conferences each year, of university missions at any rate in the early part of the period, of considerable advances in Schools' work, and, quite inexplicably, of the record broken every year in the sum raised by students for the work of the W.S.C.F. and their own international interests. The Student Movement

House, the international club in London, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in November and December, 1942, with visits from the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Americas

The S.C.M. of *Canada* celebrated in December, 1941, its coming of age as an independent Movement, which had had many years of previous existence in connection with the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. *The Canadian Student* which ceased publication a few years ago, began again in 1942. Struggling with its problems of finance and staff, the Movement has steadily risen to its obligations to the W.S.C.F. It has remained one of the movements most capable of keeping a full programme going, because the national needs have continued to require an almost full complement of students. The holding of University Christian Missions in different centres across the country has been an indication of increasing co-operation with the churches.

The students of the *United States of America* were little affected by the war at the beginning of this period, and even in December, 1941, a national student assembly of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. student bodies was discussing political events with a certain sense of remoteness. But the incidence of mobilisation fell rapidly and heavily on the campuses, changing them overnight from places of leisure to the training centres of war. To face this new situation, a War Emergency Committee was created, including Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and the church-related student work. Further, an inter-religious Council was created including Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish student leaders. This co-ordinated action in war-time has strengthened the joint relationship of the N.I.C.C. and church groups to the Federation. Problems arising within the country itself, such as the relocation of Japanese-Americans, several thousand being students, and the transportation of thousands of students in the armed forces across the oceans, have created a situation in which it should be easier for American students to escape the isolation created by their own numbers and geographical position. Interesting evidence of this growing conviction about world fellowship is to be seen in the sums raised by the World Student Service Fund, and by a remarkable conference of four hundred students on the Christian Mission which was held in December, 1943.

For a number of years there has been a loyal S.C.M. in

Jamaica though it has been sadly neglected by W.S.C.F. visitors. Word has come from it on more than one occasion during the period. But the most significant development in the Americas has been the building up of Student Christian Movements in *Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina* and *Chile,* during the three year period. One result of the visit of the General Secretary to South America in 1941 was a very generous agreement on the part of the Continental Y.M.C.A. to withdraw from formal relationship to the W.S.C.F., while maintaining a cordial informal relationship, thus allowing the new contacts with the W.S.C.F. The Students' Christian Association of *Brazil,* which works among high school and college students, became in accordance with previous decisions of the General Committee and the Executive Committee of the W.S.C.F. a corresponding member. The Academic Christian Associations of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have built up their work and the two movements are working in harmony. In *Uruguay* and *Argentina* the movements have set up together a committee for the River Plate, which has greatly aided them in their development. In *Chile* the youngest S.C.M. came into existence in April, 1944. In *Paraguay* there are already the beginnings of a movement, thanks to a great leader of the Uruguayan movement, who has gone there. The S.C.M. in *Mexico* celebrated its second anniversary in June, 1944. In *Peru* also there are contacts with student groups which will certainly be developed later on. Indeed, there is no reason why, given funds and personnel, there should not be a number of new movements in the not too distant future.

This work in Latin America is of a pioneering character. The opportunities and problems of all these movements in a highly secular university situation, with Protestantism greatly in the minority, are strikingly similar. This is the region where the ecumenical policy of the W.S.C.F. will perhaps be most severely tested in the next few years and where our willingness to help in the expansion of the work of Christ amongst students will be proved. At the present time, in collaboration with the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, and with the help of gifts from Canadian Churches, the Federation is providing the funds for student workers in Mexico, Brazil, and the River Plate. These three years of war have seen the initiation of a new project, which must become firmly fixed in the Federation's agenda for the years ahead.

Working Together on American Campuses

R. H. Edwin Espy

In 1941 a million and a half students were enrolled in over twelve hundred colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher education in the United States. To describe what happened when an enterprise of these dimensions was mobilised for war is clearly beyond the compass of this statement. The attitudes and actions of college administrators in the face of the mobilisation of their campuses is a story in itself. Suffice it to say that in the end there were practically no institutions, which were requested to do so, that did not gladly place their facilities of instruction and equipment at the disposal of the government for the Army Student Training Programme, the Navy College Training Programme, numerous auxiliary, military and naval training units and a number of programmes for specialised research and the training of civilian students in relation to the war effort.

At the height of the campus training programme, there were half a million students in uniform, including several thousand women, on approximately 500 campuses, in addition to countless projects of research and training taking place in other institutions without the knowledge of the public. The numbers as of September, 1944, are probably about one-third of these figures.

An Unfamiliar Campus

The word most often used to describe the lives of these student trainees, and indeed of the majority of the civilian students who have continued their regular studies, is the word *acceleration.* It is understandable that the armed services were concerned to accomplish a maximum of training in a minimum amount of time. The psychology of speed and concentration rapidly extended to the rest of the curriculum and to the extra-curricular lives of the non-military students. The majority of institutions shifted from a nine-month year to a twelve-month year, and an amazing number of the civilian students have been

studying without vacation. The military personnel, of course, have had no alternative but to study without interruption until their courses were completed.

What a contrast to the pre-war American campus! Fraternities became dormant; sororities and regular women's dormitories on many campuses were taken over for students in the armed services; social activities languished or were moulded to the military pattern; intercollegiate athletics were drastically curtailed and in many cases eliminated. The plethora of extra-curricular activities—sports, dramatics, journalism, debating, glee clubs, honour societies, student politics and the rest of the maze that bewilders the foreign visitor!—were reduced to a spectral shadow of their lusty past. Even studies underwent a transformation. If a man in uniform was not abreast of his work—and the standards of performance were higher than students as a whole had ever dreamed attainable—he was summarily demoted and removed to a less privileged station in military service.

Students in Need

This new campus climate which settled upon the colleges and universities of the United States in the winter of 1942-43, posed for the student Christian organisations some *staggering problems.* Local units of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. or the church-related student agencies existed on most of the campuses where training units were established. But how could they cope with the new set of needs, particularly in cases where their leadership was entirely voluntary and the lives of professors and other non-student counsellors were just as accelerated as the lives of students? Suddenly thrust on their campuses were hundreds or thousands of complete strangers. In most cases the newcomers had not selected the colleges to which they went, but found themselves suddenly sent. They were drawn from all parts of the country, and all branches of study. They varied greatly in age and background. They represented all faiths; campuses which had been practically 100% Protestant suddenly were a third or a half Catholic with a strong minority of Jews; Catholic institutions found themselves half populated by Protestants.

Thousands of boys who were just out of high school, or who had attended a college but continued to live with their families, were away from home for the first time in their lives. Men who

were engaged, or in many cases married, were separated from their fiancées and wives. Loneliness was the number one illness. Practically all were experiencing a sudden regimentation quite in contrast to the carefree casualness of the normal American college. Thousands were still uncertain with regard to the issues of the war. Many were confused on fundamental religious truths: Can there be a God in a world like this? If He truly exists, what kind of a God must He be? Is history safe in His hands? In moral and ethical areas the dislocations of the new situation tended to remove the old restraints. "What difference does it make?" was a familiar outlook. Personal problems not formerly encountered suddenly arose for practically every man or woman in uniform. One prevalent difficulty, quite apart from the question of sexual morality, was that of total men-women relationships. How build normal friendship in an abnormal setting? Were the women to become simply hostesses, or would it be possible to create the conditions and the psychological attitudes out of which a more healthy mutuality of companionship could be developed?

To help them in their manifold needs, the students in training were without two important resources which were available to other military personnel. No chaplains were assigned, except in a few isolated cases, to the College Training Programme; and no units of the United Service Organisations, which was established at the beginning of the war as the recognised civilian agency to minister to the spiritual, social and recreational needs of men in the service, were placed on college campuses. Consequently the Department of War and the Navy Department officially delegated to the resident religious forces on the college campuses the responsibility to minister to the religious and social needs of the student trainees.

Local Programme Resources

The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and the church-related student organisations, to help meet these needs, established *widespread programmes* embracing the following major elements: personal counselling on all manner of problems; provision of opportunities for worship and other religious expressions; the holding of discussions and conferences on subjects of social significance; the creation of facilities, atmosphere and leadership for wholesome

social, recreational and cultural activities; the offering of multitudinous personal services to meet the simple day by day needs of men and women away from home; special attention to trainees who were ill; the provision of devotional literature and literature on religious, social and ethical issues; the channeling of speakers and other programme resources to the campuses with training units; and the development of an efficient system for keeping in touch with students in training as they moved from one campus to another or from training programmes into active service.

The various student Christian organisations, as well as different local campuses, put emphasis in different places, but the programmes of all the Protestant groups were remarkably similar. The programmes of the Roman Catholic agencies through the Newman Clubs were more strictly religious in character, while those of the Jewish agencies through the Hillel Foundations were both religious and social but less comprehensive than those of the Protestant groups.

National Co-ordination

The national organisations of student religious work quickly felt the need to mobilise their resources and come together for consultation on their stupendous common task. *Two representative agencies were created.* One, essentially Protestant, was the War Emergency Council on Student Christian Work, representing the Student Y.M.C.A., Student Y.W.C.A. and the student work of the major Protestant Churches. The other, inter-faith, was the Inter-religious Council, representing the agencies in the War Emergency Council plus the Hillel Foundations and the Youth Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The official creation of the War Emergency Council and the Inter-religious Council by the respective constituent organisations represented an important forward step in co-operative relationships among the many student religious agencies of the United States. It is also notable that this two-fold national pattern of co-operation—inter-faith and inter-Protestant—was in response to an increasing trend on local campuses.

What national services did it prove possible for these emergency agencies to perform? The very fact of the creation of the Inter-religious Council, both nationally and in its local counterparts, has been significant in itself. But it has had a widespread

practical usefulness. It has facilitated general consultation on work with students in uniform, clearance of basic policy and specific programme, united approach to representatives of higher education and the military, both nationally and locally, and—not least important—full and frank discussion on the longer range philosophies and objectives of the respective national religious organisations. The value of the Inter-religious Council, and the promise which this experience holds out for the future, is now unquestioned.

The War Emergency Council, being a Protestant agency and representing a more homogeneous constituency, has had a more inclusive function. Among its activities have been, in addition to the ones enumerated for the Inter-religious Council: the creation of local Campus Christian Councils and the maintenance of contact with them; the development of a directory of local Christian groups and professional student workers; the provision of data on colleges where training units have been situated; the distribution of literature for men and women in training on the campuses; the publication of *Communique,* a bulletin for workers with student trainees; the offering of counsel on programme, materials and methods for local use; the creation, in co-operation with the Federal Council of Churches, of the Christian Commission on Wartime Campus Missions, through which religious embassies have visited campuses where trainees are situated; contact nationally and locally with college administrators to interpret the policies and programmes of the constituent organisations; assistance to local groups in developing a strong relationship with other interested campus organisations, with college administrations and with military authorities; the setting up of regional consultations and training conferences on work with students in uniform for student religious leaders in all sections of the country; representation of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and the church-related student organisations in relations with the Catholic and Jewish agencies and their local units; planning ahead for the period of demobilisation and for the responsibilities of united student Christian work in the period following the war.

Emergency Learnings

Not only has the readiness of the various agencies to work together improved the effectiveness of service to students in uniform. Of longer range importance, the experience of the past

two years has revealed some important facts concerning student Christian work in the United States. We shall refer here only to the work of the agencies in the War Emergency Council.

1. *There is a momentum and a vitality in the student Christian movements that has persisted in the face of the exigencies of war.* It is significant that in addition to the programme for student trainees, the Christian organisations have continued and even expanded many of their normal activities. Summer conferences have had larger enrolments than for many years, with a surprising number of men students in attendance—many of them in uniform. During the Christmas holidays of 1943-44 there was held at Wooster College a continent-wide conference of all the major student Christian organisations of the United States, Canada and Mexico on the World Mission of the Church. In the academic year 1943-44, more money was raised for World Student Relief than in any previous year since the last war. On local campuses a valiant effort has been made to keep the programme vital. Women students and men students too young for military training have assumed unaccustomed leadership responsibilities.

2. *College administrations and the voluntary religious organisations—both national and local—have drawn closer together.* There is a growing concern among college and university presidents both for a vigorous student religious programme and for increased provision by the administration for competent professional religious leadership. There is a new recognition among the national voluntary religious organisations of the importance of administration support and participation if local work is to have maximum effectiveness. Steps are now in progress to translate this mutual concern into concerted action.

3. *A greater importance is attached to regional units as a base for intercollegiate programmes.* For the first time, through the War Emergency Council, the national student agencies of the denominations have appointed regional representatives to assume specific responsibilities for inter-collegiate visitation, for the bringing together of conferences, for co-operation with regional leadership and programmes of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., for regional undertakings of study, consultation and training. If regional work can be expanded, without sacri-

fice to the sense of participation in a total national movement, it is hoped that many more students can become participants in the intercollegiate Christian movement.

4. *The experience of the War Emergency Council has set forward immeasurably the cause of united student Christian work.* No one who has not seen the American campuses at first hand can visualise the complexity of the present organisational relationships in the student field. One can speak of a Student Christian Movement only in the most general sense. Organisationally, there are numerous such movements, related either to the Y.M.C.A. to the Y.W.C.A., or to the Churches. These in turn have variations of regional and local relationships, and all have interrelationships to one another. These organisations have co-operated admirably in the past through the Student Volunteer Movement, the Council of the World's Student Christian Federation in the United States, the World Student Service Fund, the University Christian Missions, the Japanese-American Student Relocation Council and various other joint projects. The most recent and significant national step in co-operative activity has been the organisation of a United Student Christian Council in the U.S.A. This United Council will serve as a clearing-house for all the common interests and activities of the bodies represented in the War Emergency Council, and the W.S.C.F. Council, and will replace these two temporary agencies.

5. *The world horizons of students and of their national organisations have been greatly expanded.* Interest in the World's Student Christian Federation has increased, though much of the financial support which would normally flow from this awakened concern has been directed toward the closely related needs of World Student Relief. It is expected that the total participation in the life of the Federation will be enlarged as a result of the war experience. In the domestic relationships of the student Christian organisations in the United States, the Council of the Federation has been increasingly accepted as the clearing-house for common planning in areas of joint concern. Under the new United Student Christian Council the various constituent agencies are planning for the first time to employ a highly experienced staff person to direct the work of the Council, both in its domestic responsibilities and in its functions as liaison between the American organisations and the international work of the Federation.

The Hope for the Future

It is too early to prophesy what organisational changes in American student Christian work may result from the experience of co-operation during the war. The cardinal fact is the existence on all sides of *a new conviction that the various agencies must work more closely together.* The test for the student Christian movements is yet to come. How shall we meet the needs of the thousands of men who will return to the campuses from the fighting fronts and from essential war activities? Probably more to the point, how shall we make the movement theirs? Will the men from the wars and the students who have been at home be able to meet on a common ground? Can we help them to a view of the world which will have equal significance to those who have suffered and those who have not? How can the claims of Christ be compellingly presented to students of such wide variation in maturity, experience and outlook? To meet this challenge realistically, a united Christian impact on the American campuses will be imperative.

Another thing now is clear to Christian students and their leaders in America. Except as we raise our sights to embrace the whole of humanity and particularly our fellow Christian students around the world—unless, in short, we accept the perspective of the World's Student Christian Federation and make it a reality in our daily campus programmes—we shall not be equal to the tremendous task that awaits us. While there are grounds for encouragement in terms of spirit and organisation, there are grounds for sober reflection as we think of the unprecedented problems which approximately three-quarters of a million returning students will pose for our Christian organisations.

In all that we do, we shall need not only the perspective of the Federation but the grace and the ability to act as an American microcosm of the Federation in a student setting which in itself is international, inter-racial, inter-organisational and inter-confessional in character. Student Christian work in the United States has the opportunity of a life-time to become truly ecumenical.

Seven Years of Labour

The relief task of the Chinese S.C.M.

Ellsworth Carlson

During recent weeks we have read in the newspapers of the long defence and finally the fall of the city of Hengyang, China. This will be a blow to the work of the National Student Relief Committee in China in addition to being a serious set-back in the United Nations war with Japan. One of the twenty-five local student relief committees was located at Hengyang, the communications centre of South-Central China. During these war years thousands of students from occupied areas have gone through Hengyang on their way to universities in the West. Each month about forty students have applied to the Hengyang Student Relief Committee for "travel aid". The committee was usually able to arrange free transportation for them on the railway to Kweilin and pay for their board and room while they were in Hengyang. The loss of Hengyang is serious, too, because it was on the main line of communications between the National Student Relief Committee's headquarters and about eight local relief committees in Southeast China.

Hengyang is not the first committee that has been lost because of the changing war situation. Others were committees at Shanghai, Peking, Hongkong, Macao, and Canton—to mention only part of them. But as old centres of student relief work have been closed, new committees have been organised so that the total number of active committees has grown. One of the chief merits of the relief programme is the way that it has always been able to meet changing local conditions. Mr. Kiang Wen-Han, Executive Secretary of the National Student Relief Committee, has continually visited local student relief committees and studied needs in areas where relief work has not yet been started.

From individual relief to community services

This adaptability to changing conditions applies to types of relief as well as to places. This last spring a conference of local secretaries was held in Chungking to evaluate the relief work and

to discuss ways to make it meet student needs more adequately. As a result of the conference the whole emphasis of the programme is being changed away from cash relief to a selected group of students to provision of services benefiting a larger number of students.

In the past local committees studied needs of students applying for help and then gave cash subsidies or scholarships to those that the investigation showed needed them the most. But as years of war have gone by more and more students have seriously needed help, N.S.R.C. cash subsidies and scholarships have reached only a small percentage of the needy students, and needs were so widespread that determining who should and who should not get relief became an almost impossible job. During his visits to local committees last winter, Mr. Kiang found that almost all students were needy and came to the conclusion that the answer to this problem was to provide services to students of a kind that need not be limited to a small group.

For example at Kunming he found that the universities could provide no bathing facilities for the students; at the same time the prices at the Kunming bath-houses were prohibitive (about seventy dollars in China's inflated currency). To meet this situation, the Kunming Student Relief Committee has built a bath-house between the two main campuses where any Kunming student can get a shower. No provision for drinking water is made by the universities (whose income has not gone up anywhere near as fast as rising costs); so the committee has dug a well and now serves boiling water and tea throughout the day. (It is not safe to drink unboiled water in China.) The university dining rooms serve only lunch and supper, and at near-by restaurants students used to pay as much for their breakfasts as for the other two meals put together. As a result some students just had to go without breakfast; this was a serious situation, because the other two meals were sadly lacking in nutrition. Now students can buy cheap and nourishing breakfasts at a new breakfast room built by the Kunming committee. As a means of combatting malnutrition, beanmilk is served to about six hundred students each day.

A student union building (called a "student centre" in China), financed by the student relief committee, provides about the only recreational centre for Kunming students. All students can share in these services. The committee is sure that this pro-

gramme of providing services to all students is far superior to the old system of giving cash grants to a chosen few. About half of the initial capital cost of equipment and buildings was paid by the National Student Relief Committee; the local committee raised the remainder in Kunming.

An expanding administration

The National Student Relief Committee was originally organised in 1938 by the National Committees of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. Support for the programme has come from student groups throughout the world. In this way the student relief programme is an expression of international student solidarity as students help their fellow students.

During recent years substantial help has come from the American United China Relief (now under the National War Fund) and from its British counterpart, the British United Aid to China Fund (sometimes known as the Lady Cripps' Fund). Both of these organisations have made it a policy to work through existing relief agencies in China rather than to build up administrative agencies of their own. Both have chosen to work through the N.S.R.C. In 1943 the N.S.R.C. received almost half a million dollars (U.S.) from these two organisations.

Here we have the interesting situation of a relief committee set up by the Student Christian Movement administering funds from student Christian groups, from students not in Christian groups, and from the big nation-wide American and British China relief organisations. The arrangement has been highly satisfactory to all concerned.

The leaders of the student divisions of the national Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are the Executive Secretaries of the National Student Relief Committee. In many cases local Y.M. and Y.W. student secretaries are the executive secretaries of the local committees. The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious. In the first place the Y.M. and Y.W. student secretaries are acquainted with the students and know their needs. In places where Y.M. and Y.W. secretaries lead in the relief administration, it has not been necessary to set up separate administrative machinery. I think of no other arrangement that would have provided the relief programme with as qualified leadership.

In fairness it should probably be said that there are also disadvantages. The relief work has tended to over-burden the secre-

tary and to squeeze out other Student Christian Movement work; in some cases an effort has been made to secure administrative assistants to handle part of the relief work. To be fair and to avoid suspicion among non-Christian students, the local secretary almost has to lean over backwards in his effort not to favour Christian students; this is difficult because he is in a better position to know the needs of the Christian students than of the non-Christian students. It might be pointed out that any other group that might be entrusted with the relief adminisration would doubtless find that it knew the needs of some students better than those of others.

A determination to see it through

In 1942 the N.S.R.C. helped 13,000 different students. In 1943 the number was probably over 15,000. The new programme of "services to students" will doubtless reach a much larger number. The responsibility for actually getting the help to the students rests with the local committees. The National Student Relief Committee makes grants to the local committees on the basis of their requests and budgets.

China has already gone through seven years of war. Tens of millions of people have been refugees from the beginning. Thousands of students haven't seen their families, still in occupied territories, since they followed their universities to the West. The shortage of commodities and the terrible inflation have seriously cut the standard of living. It is certainly not surprising that China has become weary of war. Disappointments in the prosecution of the war and in the political situation within the country have contributed to this war-weariness. This has made the problems of relief administration more difficult. It has meant that to some extent "determination-to-see-it-through" has had to replace some of the enthusiasm, idealism, and buoyancy of the early years of the war. The leaders of the student relief programme are staying at their jobs and are doing it well under trying circumstances. They deserve friendly and generous support.

A Christian Approach to Industry

Eric W. Brewin

The Industrial Department of the British Student Christian Movement is very much a child of its times. It began in the early 1930s, a time of mass unemployment when the main concern of students was whether they would be amongst the lucky ones to get a job or whether they would find themselves on the scrap heap of unemployment. Stark economic distress awakened many people for the first time to the fact that industry is now the nerve centre of our civilisation. For the first time it was realised that what happens in industry determines the fate and moulds the character of nearly all of us.

Yet, most current Christian teaching and thinking seemed very remote and almost irrelevant to the industrial situation. Thrift for example had been extolled as a Christian virtue; in the hey-day of capitalism it had benefited the community by increasing our capital wealth; in the thirties, however, thrift was a menace. It increased unemployment. Inventions of labour-saving machinery reduced the cost of production, but instead of benefiting mankind they served to swell the ranks of the unemployed. A man who worked hard and conscientiously would find that the result of his labours was the dismissal of his mate, since there was not sufficient for him to do. The simple teaching from pulpits that a Christian's duty consisted mainly in such things as not swearing, not getting drunk and being honest, revealed a complete failure to understand the situation and the depths of frustration into which a man was plunged if he honestly desired to love his neighbour as himself. Many grew impatient with the Church and the gulf between the Church and the industrial workers grew wider. Clearly knowledge of the Christian faith was not by itself enough. A deeper understanding of the industrial situation was urgently needed. The complexity of the technical issues resulted in many Christians who were keenest on reform either supporting cranks or taking the naïve Marxist line that the only thing to do was to work for a revolution and the complete overthrow of capitalism.

Students Going into Industry

It is not surprising that Edwin Barker, who had been appointed Social Study Secretary at this time, found his interest centring around industrial problems and the needs of those students who were hoping to go into industry. An entirely new sphere had to be tackled. A deep understanding of the complex industrial situation had to be arrived at, and a technique discovered to give to students as wide a picture of industry as possible so that they could appreciate the most significant trends and problems and the nature of the various conflicts. They had to be given a new vision of industry encouraging them to see it not as a sphere for money-making, but as a social service in which they had an important part to play. The ultimate goal of the new work, however, would be the training of a body of people who could do some pioneering in informed thinking about the meaning of Christian responsibility in terms of the industrial situation.

Student activities were started in a number of universities and the general policy of this work gradually lost much of the mystery and nebulousness which characterised the early stages. Student Industrial Committees were set up consisting of representatives of the engineering, science and economic faculties to run meetings with managers, trade union leaders, factory inspectors, etc. These meetings were such as to appeal to many students who because of prejudice or lack of Christian conviction would never have considered joining the college S.C.M. To get such people to participate it was essential to keep the S.I.C. (Student Industrial Committee) activities in the college autonomous and quite separate from the other S.C.M. activities. Non-Christians were invited on the understanding that the main concern of the meetings was to give students a first-hand knowledge of the situation in industry as seen from different angles and to stimulate an interest in current industrial problems. To the non-Christians the appeal was made in terms of their sense of responsibility; to the Christians it was pointed out that this sort of technical knowledge and discussion was essential if they wished to learn what is the will of God for people in industry. On this basis of a common interest in a technical approach to industrial problems harmonious co-operation proved possible. The Student Industrial Committees set up in the various universities were co-ordinated in a National Student Industrial Committee. Since 1934, however, the climax of the year's activities has been an Annual Industrial

Conference, lasting four days and attended by students from most of the universities of England, Scotland and Wales, and sometimes Ireland.

Ex-students in Industry

Meanwhile, students who had come into contact with the student industrial work whilst at college were going into industry with their interest in industrial problems whetted. Further activities were therefore clearly called for so that they could continue the kind of discussion started in the student groups. In co-operation with the Christian Auxiliary Movement the Industrial Register was started, partly as a means of keeping in touch with these ex-students and partly as a record of keen local contacts in industry. By 1936 it became obvious that it was profitable to concentrate on those who had recently left college for industry, trying to help them to see industry as a Christian vocation and to bridge the gulf between the Christian faith and the common life. The members were kept in touch with one another by the circulation of Industrial Register Notes and wherever possible groups were set up for the discussion both of industrial problems and problems of the Faith. Many of these four hundred Industrial Register members proved to be of tremendous help in the development of the student work and the student and Industrial Register work must always be integrally related. A committee to supervise these combined operations was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. Clifton Robbins of the International Labour Office.

Our contacts with other industrial organisations have been invaluable to us in our work. One of the most useful links has been that with the Confederation of Management Associations, which includes such bodies as the Works Management Association, the Office Management Association, the Institute of Labour Management, and the Institute of Industrial Administration. This Association constitutes one of the significant features in a capitalist society which Marx failed to foresee. Their members take a fine professional attitude to their jobs as managers, and have a very keen sense of their responsibilities to the men they control and to the community. We also value highly our contacts with many Trade Unions. Perhaps the most important from our point of view is the Association of Scientific Workers, which is the only Trade Union with branches in the Universities. In addition to the usual Trade Union concern with improving wages

and conditions, the A.Sc.W. exists to demand that full use shall be made of modern scientific knowledge for the benefit of the whole community. In several centres, particularly in Nottingham and Oxford, we are now running our activities jointly with the University A.Sc.W. branch.

War-time Problems and Developments

The war had, at first, a very restricting effect upon our work. The economy axe reduced the amount of S.C.M. staff time available. Industrial Register activities were particularly badly hit. The free time which students had and also the length of their courses at the universities were both considerably curtailed. The increased difficulties led to a change in the technique of our student work. It was decided to try and work through small groups of keen students, and as a basis for their discussions Industrial Newsletters were written on such subjects as: "Discipline and Incentives", "The Essential Work Orders", "Life and Religion", "Industrial Welfare". We soon came to feel impatient, however, with the small number of people we were touching. Something more ambitious, we felt, was necessary to capture the imaginations of somewhat suspicious and hard pressed students. Consequently, in each centre, we are trying to arrange a course of six or eight meetings with speakers from local industry. A typical series consists of: a Director, a Works Manager, a Trade Union leader, a Personnel Manager, a Shop Steward, a Works Doctor, a Factory Inspector, and an Economist. These people talk about their jobs and what seem to them to be the most significant trends and problems in industry today.

We have already run a good number of these series and have attractive ones planned for the next academic year. The best of the industrial students are quick to appreciate the fact that a course like this gives them an invaluable insight into the human problems of industry, which they wouldn't otherwise get during their university careers. Consequently, we are able to get the very best people to serve on our committees, and we have considerably increased the numbers we are touching. In addition to these series of meetings, we have run, and plan to run more, week-end conferences, at which we have perhaps four speakers and do a Works visit together. The main event of next year's activities, however, will be our Tenth Annual Universities' Industrial Conference, which will be held from December 29, 1944,

to January 2, 1945. The theme will be: "The Transition from War to Peace".

We also hold an Annual Technical Colleges' Commission to discuss with students from the colleges problems of religion, politics and education, and we are now drawing up a memorandum on Technical College Education. The S.C.M. in Technical Colleges presents very special problems, into which space does not permit us to enter here. The present position, however, is that we are now gradually recovering lost ground and are planning extensive activities in a few of these colleges, hoping to discover a technique to overcome the many difficulties.

There is one more side to our activities which should be mentioned. In the delightful old town of Warwick we held this year our Third Annual Agricultural Conference, which was attended by over sixty agricultural students, and proved a most enjoyable affair. The theme of the Conference was: "The Revival of the Countryside". We discussed this from both the farmer's and the agricultural worker's point of view; we had a session on Rural Social Life and Local Government, and we tackled the question of Town and Country Planning with the help of a man who is both Dorset County Planner and Dorset Land Utilisation Officer. In addition we had a service of worship, helping people to relate the Christian Faith to the rest of our discussions. We are now laying plans for the development of an Agricultural Department on similar lines to our Industrial Department. Here again we have established contacts not only with useful individuals, but also with such Trade Union, Research and Social Service bodies. We have great hopes for the development of this side of our work.

Seeking the Will of God in Industry

On reading this article, some will feel, I am sure, that our approach is not nearly Christian enough. We would contend, however, that in order to know the will of God it is just as important to know the facts of the situation as to know the biblical doctrine of God and man. Every actual decision involves at the same time moral insight and technical judgment. Although we must try to keep the moral and technical factors clear in our minds, in real life the two are inextricably interwoven. In industry the technical considerations are even more involved than elsewhere. Consequently, a person who feels he is making a stand

for some high principle may, in fact, be acting quite quixotically, for the simple reason that he has failed to take into consideration the relevant technical factors.

For the Christian we believe that our type of activities is essential if he wishes to live the Christian life in industry. However well-founded he may be in the Christian Faith, if he has had no training in thinking about industrial problems, he may well find himself completely at a loss as to how to fulfil his Christian responsibility in his job in industry.

With many students, especially technicians, the only religious approach is via their interests and their work. Through the S.I.C. activities the S.C.M. touches a very excellent type of person who, for various reasons, would never otherwise come into contact with the S.C.M. By personal contact one is often able to remove misconceptions and false prejudices against the Faith and the Church. We also ask speakers we can trust in this matter to bring into their talks some remarks on what seem to them to be the implications of the Christian Faith for life in industry. Even with the least Christian groups the opportunity frequently arises for a straight talk on Christianity and industry. At our National S.I.C. we have a further chance to interest the students in the Christian Faith, but the Annual Industrial Conference is, of course, the time when we can do most in this respect. Many of our industrial students are, of course, members of the local S.C.M. branch.

Pioneering for the Church

As the result of much trial and error, the Industrial Department feels strongly that the best approach is not to try to construct an elaborate Christian code to guide people in industry, but to aim at moving from the particular to the general, and not the other way. By arranging meetings with people from industry not only do we make sure that we are facing the real facts and not, as so often happens in Christian study circles, an imaginary picture, but perhaps more important, we give students, before they become one of the "vested interests" in industry, practice in dealing with industrial and social situations, seeing how they arise, passing judgment on them, and criticising the moral judgments made by others. Perhaps the main value of the industrial work lies here, not in the direct information given, but in the practical moral exercise involved. For this kind of exercise gives an invaluable

training in the appreciation of the content of moral and Christian living, not only in industry, but in all spheres of life.

Recently, in many of our larger towns, the churches have been running Religion and Life Weeks, and most of them have been weakest on the industrial side. Much of the best speaking and local leadership has come from our Industrial Register members. It is, therefore, in the interests of the life of the Church as a whole that there should be a rapid expansion of the Industrial Register work, so that we may have amongst our Christian laymen many useful leaders who have thought constructively about what Christian responsibility means in an industrial setting.

When a discussion is started on what ought to be done, there comes to the Christian a unique opportunity to advance the claims of the Christian Faith as providing the soundest basis for ethical judgments. In all situations the Christian knows what he ought to do, namely, seek to obey the will of God, Who is revealed to us in the Bible as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. As he tries to learn the will of God in a real situation, his understanding of the Christian Faith will be re-shaped and rekindled; the dead wood of petrified theology will be seen for what it is; and by combining a living Faith with a sound knowledge of industry, a strategic bridge will have been created, invaluable for the ecumenical movement, linking the Faith and the common life.

No Sign Shall be Given

A view of the Indian Situation

E. Sambayya

It would seem to some, that Britain was saying to India through the Cripps' proposals: "Show us a sign of your unity in order that we may transfer the Government of India to you." But it is an impossible proposition for India at present—perhaps as impossible as it is for the European States to unite.

None of the schemes for unity devised by the wit of man so far, have been found adequate to meet the need of the situation. The present political deadlock is a proof of human inability to cope with a situation, which is not purely political, but in the main spiritual. It is hard to imagine that even the Government, which has taken the drastic measure of imprisoning hundreds of the greatly revered leaders of the country, is complacent about the present state of affairs. Does this not force us to approach the Indian problem from an entirely different angle? From the study of the Hebrew Prophets we learn that they interpreted contemporary history and political events from the point of view of God. For instance they taught that the appearance of the Assyrians on the scene of the eighth century politics of Palestine, the Exile, and the rise of Cyrus to power in the East had important lessons for Israel. The prophets had never been popular, and their advice and admonitions went unheeded. Yet, we now know that only they were right.

Perhaps it is the absence of the spirit of prophecy in the cultural heritage of India which has made the Indian people reluctant to take history seriously, and also to adopt a passive and negative outlook on life. The following quotation from Archbishop Söderblom forcefully illustrates how far and how sadly the Indian people have strayed away from a conception of history which their ancestors had developed:

> "The Mazdayasanian (i.e., Zoroastrian) scheme expresses in somewhat scholastic way the idea implied in the word history: that is to say, 'something happens in what happens', so that the intricate mass of events has a meaning and goal beyond the actual combination and situation. The real

> kernel of history is a *forward,* not a seesaw, and not a *backward,* although it may seem so to human eyes. This profound conception has arisen only twice in history of human thought—in Zarathustrianism and in Mosaism . . . Christianity has inherited it from Mosaism, and it has become prevalent in the Western civilisation in the form of a belief in a divine purport in history, in progressive evolution or in a redeeming crisis, and constitutes one of the most significant features and influential factors in the civilisation of Europe and America, as distinguished from the great civilisations of India and of the Far East."

Had the Hebrew Prophets been viewing the Indian problem they would have told us how the arm of God was to be perceived in everything that happened in India. I want to argue that the prophetic view of history, and the Apocalyptic faith in the ultimate triumph of the cause of God will throw a new light on the Indian problem, and that India's political destiny is bound up with its spiritual development according to the eternal purpose of God.

The conquests of Brahminism and Islam

The story of the Indian people may be said to have begun with the settlement of the Aryan tribes in the Indo-Gangetic plain and with their subsequent conquests of India for Brahminism. The early Aryans were a people sensitive to spiritual realities; but the Brahminism which grew out of their primitive joyous faith, developed in the direction of arid monism. One wonders if it is not a case of men preferring the vain speculations of their own mind to the revelation of God in creation and history. The turning away of the Aryans from the worship of *Varuna* to that of *Indra* and kindred gods was a movement in the direction of retrogression from ethical monotheism.

Centuries of Brahminical domination of India have bequeathed to its people the caste system, idolatry, and the Karma doctrine. The theory of *Karma* has robbed the people of initiative and effort, and made them acquiesce in their lot, while the fascination of *Advaita* and *Yoga* rendered them "other-worldly" in a bad sense. By far the most serious consequence of the Hindu domination of India has been the coming into being of

millions of "untouchables". That in itself is a severe judgment on Brahminism which, as later history showed, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

The story of the Muslim conquest of India, its looting and massacres, and its subjugation of the whole country makes sad reading. Nevertheless, the Muslim invasion of India should be regarded as a significant event in the story of the Indian people, and a necessary step in the fashioning of this nation. Islam is God's rebuke to Brahminism, and to every evil which was permitted under its system. Islam served as a scourge and weapon in the hand of God to execute His judgment on His people, and to recall them to a new obedience. To this day the fury and fanaticism of Islam is disconcerting to a Hindu. The message of Islam came as a great contrast and a fierce corrective to the iniquity of caste, the abomination of idolatry, the utter barrenness of systems such as monism and pantheism. It was a call to a new outlook on life. But in course of time Islam became a spent force. Its witness to the unity of God, and man's obligation to obey Him, were eclipsed by the self-seeking of the Muslim rulers, and their preoccupation with building an empire for themselves. Though the Muslims were inadequate to make any positive contribution to the spiritual growth of India, they left in the country a vigorous and militant community which opposes Hinduism at every point and exposes its fallacies. Islam is designed to be, and still is, a rebuke to Hinduism. The complexity of the Indian problem may be said to have been well established with the residence in the country of three mutually exclusive, irreconcilable, and ethnologically different groups of people (Hindus, Muslims, and the untouchables) by the close of the Muslim period.

The Mohammedan rulers proved to be unworthy shepherds. They became insolent, greedy, and fanatical. The ablest of the Moghul rulers were inadequate each in his own way. Akbar was vaguely syncretic, as is evidenced by his curious efforts at the evolution of *"Illahi-Din"*, a new eclectic religion; while Aurangazib was possessed by iconoclastic zeal and bigotry.

British supremacy and imperial policy

God, in His inscrutable wisdom, made use of another power to carry out His purpose for the Indian people. That was the time when the sea-faring European nations were seeking to establish trade settlements in India. The English, the French,

the Dutch and the Portuguese were rivals in the Indian spice trade. India might easily have passed under the French; but the French were soon eliminated; and by degrees the lucky British traders found themselves at the head of a kingdom in India. The local feuds among the Indian princes, the lack of perseverance on the part of the French, and the adroitness of Robert Clive may have been some of the reasons for British supremacy in India in the first instance. Yet none of these reasons are adequate for explaining why India should have passed under the rule of a totally alien, and a Christian power. In the language of the Prophets, God employed the British as an instrument for carrying out His plan for the Indian nation.

The imperial policy of Great Britain has brought about a remarkable situation in India. It has unconsciously fostered an ardent love for democracy, and a strong disapproval of imperialism in the hearts of the Indian people. A shrewd historian might have remarked that the British policy in India was ultimately detrimental to its own interests in that land. Britain never felt that it held India by divine commission and with altruistic motives. The British are as human and selfish as any other nation; and in their Indian policy the British interests have been of paramount importance every time. But that is not to be wondered at as the English are not angels! After making the fullest allowance for the normal selfishness of the British people in their dealings with India, it must be said that they acted as guardians, creating such external and internal conditions for the development of the Indian nation according to its peculiar genius. They might have made a serious attempt, had they wished, to flatten out the acute differences of race and community that obtain among the Indians in the interests of a smooth and less complicated form of government; or they might have induced the Indians to become Christians. They attempted neither of these. On the other hand they seem to have encouraged the various social and racial groups to develop according to their potentialities without hindrance. Ramsay Macdonald's Communal Award may be regarded as an instance of this policy. For over two decades now Britain has been attempting the impossible task of welding the mutually irreconcilable and openly hostile social and political groups in India into one organic political entity. Every effort in this direction has not only been a failure, but has also revealed fundamental difficulties in the way. The complexity and the apparent

hopelessness of the Indian problem may be readily perceived when one considers the conflicting claims of the various major communities and political parties in India. The Congress with its claim to represent the "dumb millions" of India demands complete political independence. The Muslim League, which is now a power to be reckoned with, urges Britain to "divide and quit India". The Indian princes, who show great uneasiness and alarm, demand the fulfilment of their treaty obligations. The minority communities and scheduled classes, who are extremely suspicious of the whole situation, are craving protection from exploiters and their oppressive elder brethren. The latest move of England was to send Sir Stafford to India and ask the Indian people to present a united demand for self-rule. The desired basis of unity could not be found. The Congress over-simplified the issue, and resorted to direct action. The India Government promptly quelled, with an iron hand, what seemed to it an open rebellion against law and order. Since then there has been no appreciable change in the situation except that the unfortunate Mr. Amery has had to endure more than his share of blame, and the hard-working and unimaginative Lord Linlithgow has left India unhonoured and un-sung.

God watches over India

Humanly speaking, there is nothing that can be done in the matter. While this may be so, is this not just the time when the question of British and Indian relations should be viewed from the point of view of the divine operation in history? It has been a jibe against Indians that they view things from the point of view of God far too often and too easily; and that they acquiesce in every form of servitude, regarding it as their *Karma* or *Kismet*. Our plea is that the Indian question should be viewed from the point of view of the living God who controls and gives meaning to history. God has not left India to a meaningless political deadlock, or chaos. He has been jealously watching over His people in this land. During the peaceful rule of Britain India has received the living word of the Gospel. Since then the Church of Christ has been growing almost imperceptibly in Indian soil. The origin and growth of the Church in this land of conflicting philosophies is nothing short of a significant miracle. Historically, the Church in India is the fruit of the labours of the Western Missionary Societies. At the same time

the Church is God's supreme and silent gift to this nation, because in and through the Church God is offering to the Indian people the very thing they stand in need of—unity. Unity is a costly gift. Its cost to God is tremendous. It is going to cost something to the recipients as well, for this gift has to be appropriated through a new birth. The new birth is given through the baptism of regeneration and admission into the Church—the body of Christ. Into this household of God are reborn Brahmins, who are the spiritual aristocrats of India, Muslims, the haughty and the dethroned rulers of this land, and the untouchables, who for centuries have been treated as the scum of the earth. But in this new and divine society they live and labour with a new sense of belonging to each other. They are bound to each other by a new and enduring tie, which is wholly other than that of common race or culture. Has India discovered the pearl of great price? And is she going to sell all that she hath to possess it? The majority of Indians have hardly discovered the Church which is in their midst. The Church in this land suffers from many disabilities. Curiously enough there are divisions in it. It is not very attractive, nor aggressive. Still, it offers the one way of hope for this great people to attain their real manhood, and fulfil their destiny.

It is conceivable that, on theoretical grounds, Hinduism too may make a similar claim of offering a basis of unity for India. But can Hinduism really make such a claim and still remain Hinduism? No, it cannot. There is no conversion to Hinduism possible. A Hindu is always born, not made. Can Islam make a similar claim to be the giver of unity? It cannot. Islam has had its day and supreme opportunity. After their record of conversions by the sword, the Muslims in India can never again dare to present Islam as the gift of God to heal the hurt of this people.

Unity through the Church of Jesus Christ

In India the mistake is commonly made that the Church, in some special sense, belongs to the Christians as if it were their property. And for that reason, the invitation to join the Church is interpreted as proselytism. The Church is not the private property of the Christians as the sun is not the peculiar possession of the Hindus. The Church is the household of God. It is divine (holy), and universal (catholic). God commendeth His love to us through Jesus Christ His Son; and the Church is the body of Christ. It is the extension of His incarnation projected

into time and space, carrying out the tasks which He has to fulfil for each generation. That the millions of the Indian people should come to the knowledge of the living God, and offer to Him their praise and adoration, united to one another through the Church, is part of His purpose which "He hath purposed from the foundation of the world".

All this may sound theoretical to the practical politician. The solution of the Indian problem, he will say, cannot wait till the purposes of God are fulfilled through the Church. Yes, this is not the blue-print of a programme, but a prophetic vision. Its message is that God is trustworthy, and that He will bring to pass that which is for our highest welfare in a time which cannot be predicted. Yet, in a sense, He depends upon our faithfulness for carrying out His purposes. Every one who has the highest welfare of India at heart has been given enough light, and a definite piece of work to do, however humble. *"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"* In that small sphere he is called to be a faithful steward, a good neighbour, and a dutiful son of God. Thus there is abundant scope for constructive political activity even for the keenest nationalist.

The knowledge and service of God is the greatest destiny of the Indian nation. To this end was this people nurtured and trained through varying circumstances. The British occupation of India is a part of the general plan, though the British rulers may not be conscious of it. As rulers and guardians to whose care are committed 400 millions of people, the British are exposed to the judgment of God. No nation is good enough to rule over another, except for a while and for a special purpose. When the mandatory rule of Britain in India is going to terminate is a matter which in large measure is dependent upon India's discovery and appropriation of the God-given basis of unity and its growth in dutifulness, and neighbourliness. Thus the Indian problem is at bottom spiritual, and it admits of no other solution except that of the faith of the apocalyptist, who in the darkest moments of history saw with the eye of faith God on His throne, and the city of God descending from heaven, and was assured that "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes". The foundation of the apocalyptic faith is victory for God in world issues; and that exactly is the meaning of the Indian struggle.

A Prisoner of the Gestapo

Extracts from the Journal of a Protestant pastor in France

30th May, 1943

Ten a.m. In the church, last words to the catechumens before their confirmation. I leave them to go up and give the general lesson to the Sunday School on the first floor. At the foot of the stairs Madame X stops me: "Don't go up. The Gestapo is there and wants you!" My bicycle is at hand. I have plenty of time to escape. I don't even think of it, but go back into the church, put on my gown and prepare to climb into the pulpit. After a few moments the gentlemen appear and I see their faces of bakelite, their glassy eyes. Yes, it is my name they pronounce; they really are looking for me. "You must come at once; the chief wants some information from you immediately." I assure them that I will follow them after the service. No, that won't do. I must come now. They promise that I shall return in ten minutes. I know the promise is absurd, and impossible even if they were sincere. But I have begun to discuss the matter and to believe them. Already a lie, like a chain, is fastened on my wrist. I resist a moment, then call my counsellors to my aid in the hope that they may have some power of unbelief that I have not, and will give me the order to mount the pulpit steps. But the two men of bakelite are positive, they promise solemnly and give their word—"in ten minutes" . . . Then I saw clearly how unarmed a Christian stands before a lie. I knew, we all knew, it was not true. The only defence could have been incredulity, refusal to accept a promise. And how can one refuse a promise that is given? Only by rejecting him that promises! . . .

The car bowls along the deserted streets. The presence of X, who refused to leave me, is a great relief to me. For the moment there is perfect calm. I do not look at the gulf that yawns before me. I enjoy the drive. At B. Boulevard X is made to get out. Then I hear the policeman say to the driver, "To Fort Y." I am done for, and I am alone, but calm. My foot has been carefully placed in the trap, but the trap has not yet snapped. We arrive and go in. The moment the iron door clangs behind us, the officer, who up till now was all sugar, turns to me and looking at me a few inches off, says in an entirely different voice, the dry and cunning voice of a victor, "You are arrested. Why, I don't know."

The noise of the door, these words and his tone, give me precisely the feeling of a dagger-thrust which penetrates my back to the very middle of my heart, killing at a blow that indefinable something which is, as it were, the lungs of the soul, the breath of the personality; that something of which we are so unconscious, though today I cannot name it without a trembling of my whole being, whose existence I only fully realised at the moment of its assassination—

I mean *my freedom.* I shall have no particular hatred for those who robbed me of it. But I know that in future if anyone laughs at it in my presence, or thinks it entertaining to talk flippantly about it, I shall push his face in.

So the trap is closed and I am a prisoner . . . and yet the opening of the door into suffering. . . . I try to say, "You promised me!" . . . "Promised? Promised? It was the only way to pull it off."

I hear the resounding, the hideous noise of the bolt. My life as a prisoner has begun. I look around me, examining everything that can be examined, in my mind already is the thought of escape which haunts all prisoners from the very first moment. This is the universe in which I must live, and which I can only leave in thought. One metre forty-eight centimetres by two metres eighty centimetres; a window in the roof which only shows the sky; a straw mattress, two blankets, and a pail. It is half-past ten. Half an hour ago my friends gave me warning. Perhaps now they are waiting for me to return and conduct the service. Half an hour! What has happened? Is it really myself? Am I dreaming? May I not take a leap back over that short space of time and recommence life where I left it? Thirty minutes, and I have lost my parish, my communicants, my children, my friends, my home, my work. Everything that Job lost except his health. And Job was able to have visitors. . . . What are they doing out there? . . .

All the afternoon I kept on living through the scene which might have taken place if I had not allowed myself to be made a fool of. . . . Half-past one! The door opens and a bowl of excellent soup is handed in. I can scarcely swallow it. I am beginning to know what it is to be so sad that I cannot eat, that food sticks in my throat. I must look at my situation again. It seems to have been reduced to a minimum, for there is nothing more to lose. The clothes I stand up in. Nothing to read; nothing to write with. I realise with dismay that I have no Bible. I let them lead me off without my Bible in spite of all the promises I had been making myself for years, in spite of the pleasure I used sometimes to take in imagining myself *tête à tête* with it. . . . Sunday supper at seven, bread with butter and cheese. I thought of those who were thinking of me. I sang psalms and prayed for them. But that was only an instinctive rampart which I built up against the bottomless sadness that I felt was about to overwhelm me, sadness such as I had never before had to face. Night comes quickly in the cell. I must stretch myself on the mattress and try to sleep. . . .

I had crushed several insects which were moving about timidly in daylight—it was an occupation. But now when I lie down, and try to think of nothing, but to shut my eyes obstinately, slight scratchings and itchings decide me to open them again. Then I see

that the blanket where my head rests is dotted with bugs, a positive flock of the creatures have come out of their den to feed upon my body. . . . I throw off the blanket with its inhabitants, I begin to doze, when I hear groans and then actual cries which continue, to be interrupted and to be renewed with additional force. . . . It could only be a woman being tortured. I sit up with a bound, thinking it a nightmare, but the cries continue for a good quarter of an hour. Certainly it was a human voice. And then for the first time in my life I felt my face and my whole body bathed in a cold sweat. This was fear, the sweat of anguish. I pray God that those whom I love may never know such a moment. I don't even know how it ended. But I think it was simply the Church's Confession "He descended into Hell" that lifted me out of the depths. And the cries were never heard again.

31st May

Seven a.m. and the sound of a whistle. Curiosity. What is going to happen? All the doors open and human beings pour out like wild beasts from their cages. I realise that the building is full of men in my condition, men like me who are enduring the same agony.

The procession comes down in Indian file, at three metres distance from each other, each carrying his pail, which he empties, rinses out and re-empties. Then the file takes a turn in an oval course round the court. There is a faint early morning sun, and light clouds, and one has an astonishing sense of well-being from walking for an hour (soon it will only be for five or ten minutes), and exchanging a few stray remarks (under threat of being deprived of food tomorrow). All sorts of men are there, policemen, civil servants, British parachutists, officers, a Rabbi, workmen, a few "black marketeers". The file moves slowly round. Groups break off to wash at the well. I breathe again. At the moment of re-entering my cell I hear my neighbour say "Till tomorrow!" The doors shut and the lock is turned. I look at my watch. Eight o'clock. Till tomorrow! It is only eight a.m. and the day is over. The time has ceased to have any meaning. . . . And now I am faced with that companion, that pitiless enemy of the prisoner, that dragon against whom he has to strive without respite, the Devil in person. He no longer needs to make any pretence or to disguise himself as an angel of light. He is all around me, his back against the wall of my cell, sure of himself and with all the time there is at his disposal. Indeed he *is* the prisoner's time. There lies his first assault, at the first hour of the first morning. This is the fierce fight to be fought day by day and hour by hour.

But for the moment I turn to intercession—intercession such as I only knew it in the hours of mobilisation (if indeed I knew it then). Is it a strange favour God shows me that He leaves me

nothing else to do than this? No one can express the love which invades the prisoner's heart, a love for those left behind which is so ardent that it must be that they are conscious of its support. It is with this love that I spoke to God of my family, my church and my friends. And I knew that their prayers for me met my prayers before His face. Surely nothing is lost! Is there any change in the promises of God? Or in the love of my children or the Communion of Saints? Do I not know that we must learn to suffer, have I not told others so, often enough? True. Yet there are moments when the suffering is too great, and one cries aloud. Job and David themselves were not ashamed to cry out.

"O Lord, how many hours are there in the day, how many minutes in every hour?"

For four days no Bible, nothing.

1st June

In the afternoon, the first parcel. A sheet, toilet articles, some food. Something to do and to undo. And above all the thought that my wife has touched them, has done it all for me. . . .

After supper that day, an interrogation. For the moment, a welcome diversion. But only then and gradually do I realise and understand that I am probably here to the end of the war, unless I am ejected. And as the days pass the chances of that diminish. I await a second interrogation. Happily I did not know this would take fifty days.

The most precious thing in the parcel was the key of a sardine tin with which I could write excellently on the wall. This then was my Wednesday's task: to search my memory, group and scratch out the words of the Bible which might best help my successor in the cell. He will have nothing else to do, and he may perhaps find here the sovereign armour against despair, and the assurance of ultimate freedom and the assembling of all the children of God.

3rd June

At last the second parcel with a Bible. Amazing the arrival of that Bible! I dance for joy and cry out my thanks. Everything will be different now. But it is well that I have known complete deprivation and know now how it is with my companions who do not think of asking for a Bible, and who, having always done without one, will still go on doing without.

But the days pass, and weigh ever more heavily. Every moment I need to strengthen my hold on the promises of God. For me the struggle is waged on two planes: that of man abandoned by God and caught up again by the promise and hope of his resurrection; and on the human plane, which is where every prisoner stands—the end of the war or liberation. During certain sleepless nights I heard

the trains pass without stopping, and this ended by overwhelming me. I always saw nothing but armaments on the trains, and kept saying to myself: "Will the end ever come? They pile up such forces, who will dislodge them?" And victory receded into the night and the prison opened no more. . . .

At the other extreme I saw myself free, home in my family, my parish, or spending another winter in Switzerland, in retreat and in peaceful work. . . .

Second Week

The days pass. I try to discipline them a little. An hour of intercession in the morning, gymnastics three times a day. Reading. A moment of holiday for memories and plans. A psalm in the morning, at noon and in the evening.

And so I must embark on a new week. Time, time, what am I to say of its inexorable course? I possess nothing but that, time without measure, without limit, without content, without direction; time which marks nothing except the torture of the soul. Yet the time of despair remains the prisoner's only hope, because at least it is moving on. The watch they left with me is a great blessing, not only because with it I can follow those who are outside, but also and simply because it tells me the time and reminds me that it is moving in spite of everything. I think of my neighbours who lack even this, and have no resource when they are completely lost in the day but to call out "What time is it?" I answered them every time until one day when a guard struck me a tremendous blow. . . . The prisoner's time is a dialectical matter. It is at the same time his despair and his hope. It might be better to say that the moments when despair clearly gains the upper hand are those when he leaves the course of time known to living men, and is stranded on the bank or rather in the depths of the river like a pebble which is too heavy to be rolled further towards the mouth. Yes, the most terrible moments are those in which one feels oneself flowing on outside time and in a motionless and dead eternity where nothing happens, where the flames of our absolute suffering will never be extinguished. Eternity from below, eternity without God, eternity where there is no hour, no direction, no expectation. Despair is simply the stopping of time, and the least particle of hope is the buoy which allows one again to enter its course.

About the 15th

There are moments when the oppression of the cell becomes so great that the future is blocked and nothing points on to the horizon, moments which are so crushing that nothing happens in them. This is like an attack of appendicitis or of toothache. Memories, counsels, words, plans mean nothing. The Gospel no longer reaches me. If

the door would only open! Nothing else counts. But the door is shut and cuts me off from all possible comfort. Nothing comes through that door any more. I am alone behind it with my suffering. The ropes that are flung out cannot reach me. I am slipping into a bottomless pit. The weight of the ocean seems to lie on my breast. If I might only die and end everything (Jonah 2: 5-6). But there is no death. There is nothing but "the eternal thirst for an unachievable death", a fire that is not quenched. Slowly I approach that passage in the Bible, a passage in the Psalms, the words which Jesus prayed in Gethsemane, when His soul was sad unto death (Psalm 130: 1; 69: 2, 3, 15, 16). The hell into which He descended. Yes, Jesus is there. It is He who is speaking thus, who takes my prayer on His lips and my burden on His shoulders, and the sadness of my heart into His heart. This is the pity and the compassion of God. It is the only clear rescue in a place where nothing else can rescue me. Here solitude is obliterated. It is the presence of God, Emmanuel! God with us to the depths of the abyss. God with us in the valley of the shadow of death. Now I can read the Psalms with Him, or rather it is He who comes to read them with me. We are together in addressing God. By the Holy Spirit Jesus Christ is there in my distress and interceding to His Father with me. Or rather by the Holy Spirit I am transported into the distress of Jesus Christ and into His supplication to God for me.

At any rate I see that, abandoned by God and by men, we are together in our crying aloud to God. And thus God pours upon us "the spirit of supplications" (Zech. 12: 10), and with us He turns His eyes towards Himself. Mystery unutterable, indispensable, adorable, of the Trinity. One reality for man of the one true God. Psalm of joy which rises from even the most wretched hearts. Spring of living waters in the midst of the desert. Wonderful presence in the soul of a solitude that cannot be taken away. Perfect consolation in total desolation. What then is the God of those who do not believe in the Trinity and who have not caught the biblical revelation? In the Church at least let this God be proclaimed and let Christians not be impoverished through heresies. Of what avail are idols, gods invented by our despair?

The unhappier I become, and the more bitterly I struggle, the more surely too I am upheld and carried by the Word of God, so much the more one problem haunts me: that of my companions in the cells, all the prisoners in the world. It is so hard for me and I am so unhappy with all the resource and all the hope I possess, that I cannot understand how they go on living, go on existing, how a heart can continue to beat. I watch them during our constitutional. I only see impassive countenances. A body of flesh, sixty kilograms of human flesh, and you have there an abyss of suffering, inevitable

and infinite suffering. Yes, all those fellow creatures who are within a pace of me will return to their boxes to suffer and do nothing but suffer, till tomorrow, and the next day, and the day after that. They have nothing to do but to suffer, and all the time that passes nourishes their suffering. Intolerable vertigo! O God, have mercy upon prisoners!

And all this makes me understand that just at this point lies the entire and only problem of our destiny, slavery or freedom. It is not without reason that God calls Himself Redeemer and Liberator, and that in His Kingdom His children must always praise Him for redeeming them. The horror of bondage is so great that the whole Kingdom of God will resound with the joy of those whom He has set free. I *must* understand this, even as all its captivities were given to Israel to make it understand (Is. 35: 10).

3rd July

Arrival of pencil, four centimetres of it. A divine inspiration makes me say to the sergeant: "What a joy if I had a pencil!" He takes one from his pocket and holds it out to me. I savour the possibility of writing. A postcard yesterday was an unheard of event. With the card and the pencil a new period begins. I am bored no longer. Time is scarcely a blank any more. . . .

6th July

The prisoner's parcel is the whole world, come into his cell and to his heart. This food is for the soul far more than the body. First it is the affection of those who prepared and sent it. Then the taste of these various things recall different parts of the world and one's past life.

A little orange marmalade is the whole Mediterranean—rocks, mistral, and pine trees which linger in the memory. A tin of mackerel is the entire ocean, with its salt-smelling tides, its sands and waves. A tin of milk brings you all the pastures of the world, herds and their bells, dawn on the mountains, the scent of hay and of the cowshed—all confused in the mind. A packet of butter and it is all the tea parties of long ago, on the terrace, the sound of the tea-wagon pushed by your wife into a circle of your friends. . . . The prisoner's heart is far hungrier than his body. . . .

9th July

The fortieth day! I think of the forty days of Elijah, and of the forty days of Jesus in the wilderness. Have I reached my Horeb and struggled against the tempter? Have I drawn nearer to my sanctification and grown in grace, or merely hung back and prayed for it? Is that enough for God to let me go?

10th July

Such a longing for affection fills my heart that the most healing words of the Bible are in the chapters of greetings at the ends of the Epistles. I used not to pay much attention to them, yet now they support me as the concrete witness of the Communion of Saints and fellowship in Christ. Yes, every one of those names in Romans 16 was a friend, a chosen companion of the apostle. Truly the Church was built upon the joy of human relationships in the sharing of hope. The Church was no more in theory than are all the friends to whom I constantly send greetings from my heart. . . .

13th July

During our ablutions round the water tap in the court, Captain Y. hisses in my ear that his door has been open for some days, his ropes ready and his escape planned. He is waiting for the moon to disappear. This plan of escape intrigues me enormously. I simply cannot understand how he will be able to open and shut the cell-door and then leave the building. If he is not misleading me, and if he really manages to escape, this man is a genius. What an adventure to share with someone else, what a salutary preoccupation to look out for him every morning in the corridor: Is he still there? has he gone? has he been caught and shot? . . .

18th July

The sergeant has been through all the cells collecting pencils. As it was he who gave me mine, I couldn't say that I had none, and I saw my treasure withdrawn, my one hope of working. A terrible blow. I remain bereft and idle, regretting all the economy of the last two weeks. If only I had written from morning till night and used it to the last centimetre.

Once more I feel myself to be in a vice, and I am afraid of the struggle that awaits me. I have my Bible, of course, and the sufficing grace of the word. But the Scripture is solid nourishment, and one cannot forever be nourishing oneself. When one has digested an Epistle and several Psalms with marvellous slowness, draining the meaning of every verse, then one has to live, to dispense the strength drawn in before returning for another meal. But it is not possible to live, the door is shut. Nothing to write, nothing to do, nothing at all, now, soon or hereafter, perhaps never again. And despair overwhelms me once again with a rage all the more diabolical because I had escaped from it before. Fight, fight, and always fight, hold fast, be ground to powder where I stand—anything rather than yield an inch to the devil.

20th July

Yesterday at last, after fifty days, my second interrogation. No new elements. But a great adventure, great journey, great diversion

which I awaited. The day spent with nothing to eat waiting in a cellar! But I got out of it some faces, some names, some news. We waited our turn like school boys in the corridors. Going there I was handcuffed to a young fellow with a face like wax, the most terrible mask of despair I have seen, who said not a word during the outward journey by car and the return by lorry. But as we mounted the stairs in the evening, when we were alone for an instant, he said suddenly: "I would give a million to save a single soul from being arrested!" He had drunk the cup to the dregs, he is my brother, my comrade in misery, but alas! not in hope; for I had not the presence of mind to answer at once that God had given more than a million for our eternal salvation. "Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with . . . gold . . . : but with the precious blood of Christ as of a lamb" (I Peter 1: 18-19). He confessed to me also that a night or two before he had passed a rope round his neck, but, dropping his nail, he hadn't the strength to pick it up, and deferred his death to another day. The next day things were better. . . . He promised me not to do it. I tried to say: "Cast your burden upon Him," but the sergeant appeared roaring out: "Always you! Always the same! Off with you!" and pushed me into my cell where silence resumed its rights.

31st July

At 3 o'clock all the doors open. All go out uncomprehendingly. A positive crowd descends the stairs, like a flock of frightened sheep. Anxiety and curiosity have turned faces to stone. The sun blazes on the walls and heat fills the court like molten lead. The three or four hundred prisoners are set in a hollow square four ranks deep. Before them stands the Gestapo, at least twenty or twenty-five different kinds of detectives and officers, with their acolytes, powerful looking toughs in civilian dress, doubtless prepared to strike. The entire prison is there—those faces, rows of living dead! I see again many who I thought had gone. There is something horrible, infernal in the sight. Shall I ever awake from this nightmare? I think that perhaps we have been brought out to attend an execution, and I cry to God that I will not, I refuse. . . . I feel I must fall down.

Apparently it has already taken place, for they tell us in French: "Three of your comrades have just been shot for sending letters out. In future anyone who sends out a message will be shot at once. Further, those who still have pencils can give them up at supper time. From tomorrow the cells will be searched, and whoever is found in the possession of a pencil will be stood up against the wall and shot. Does everyone understand? We repeat—whoever is found . . . you can go in again." I ask the captain: "Are you giving yours up?" "I think it is wiser," he answers. Heavens! If *he* gives his up!

23rd August

The days pass, the heat abates, a great relief. The presence of a companion is an extraordinary resource—we talk about Jersey. He makes my mouth water by accounts of the culinary traditions of his country and his mother's puddings. And the whole atmosphere of the island, a breath of wind, space. Then the life of the communities. English lessons follow.

At midnight yesterday, what emotion! A noise of paper under the door. I hear my name called through a hole. I rush to it. The captain asks if I have any further message for my wife as he is going to try to escape. I answer him somehow. He asks me to look after his wife if he is taken. I say *Au revoir* and God bless you! Then the hole is stopped up. I believe he is going this very night, and do not attempt to sleep; instead I remain kneeling on my mattress struggling in intercession for him. I implore God as a child pesters his father. Perhaps I am asking something He does not want. But I go on asking. The captain must escape. Never before have I dared to pray for anything so definite.

Hours pass. I knew he needed three hours. If I heard nothing in the court, no alarm, no shot during that time, then there was a good chance of his success. Three o'clock had just sounded on the distant clock of a convent. I was about to fall asleep relieved . . . when I heard the alarm bell sound through the court and a sentry's voice shouting. "There are two men here!" All is lost. As he was going with his companion it must be they. I fall asleep overwhelmed with distress.

In the morning, what do I see in the corner of the corridor as I come up from washing? The captain, just as if nothing had happened. I am overcome. What then happened at 3 o'clock in the morning?

25th August

Yesterday morning the captain was still there. I suppose he has given up his attempt, and wonder what God can have done with my prayer. I am disturbed by having burdened Him to no purpose. But this morning at 6.30, before breakfast, the doors on our floor open one after the other and the sergeant looks in to see if everyone is there. We spring to our feet and could well dance for joy, for at last it is quite plain that if they miss someone they have not caught the captain, and he must be outside. Still we wonder how they know that someone has gone.

Before going down we are made to take out our mattresses. We shall now sleep on the stones. Rather hard! But what matter? It is worth it to gain the captain's life. And as a matter of fact his face is missing. A great hope and great good humour fill us all. To think that a man was able to get out by his own efforts is incredibly joyful.

10th September

Hot showers, for the first time in four months! I am in the same cubicle as the police officer, who had changed his cell so that I had not seen him for some weeks. He said to me: "Did you know —our friend the captain? Shot!" "No! How do you know?" "His companion is in my cell. They were caught."

It was all a mistake. Our joy was all a lie. We were rubbing our hands for joy over a corpse. Alas! has God deceived me? No. It is rather that I deceived myself by such insistence in prayer. I must not make any more petitions so precise and exacting. It's a good thing I was able to write him that letter. . . . Now I can only pray that he died in the peace of God, and keep as precious the farewell letter he gave me for his family.

11th September

This evening news is called from cell to cell. Unusual moment of tension. Armistice declared yesterday in Italy! Prodigious effect. Anything seems possible. The whole prison is flooded with hope and elevated by it. We scarcely feel ourselves to be in captivity, the future seems so assured and lightened. We begin suddenly to live on plans rather than memories. The war might end this year! for one hundred and five days I have neither opened a door, touched a plate nor seen a child. . . .

13th September

Departure of my companion. Sudden, brutal, strangling return of solitude.

10th October

Two days ago at midnight arrived Captain X—. Yesterday there came Z—. Three of us in five metres by two. A real company and conversational salon. Fine human quality in the officer. Sympathetic, vital business man. Both well aware of the present spiritual condition of the world. We are able to understand each other and have real conversations. But my prayer and my work must not suffer. Today is a true holiday.

15th October

Tomorrow is my twenty-second Sunday. I feel sorry for my companions. The second Sunday is worse than the twenty-second. We talked gladly of our children, Z and I, without noticing our cruelty until Captain X said "You can talk of your families because you expect to see them again. I dare not think of mine because I must not flinch." He had six children and would probably be shot in a few days. He had even less chance of coming out alive than I of return to Switzerland. (Note, he later escaped a second time and is safe.)

18th October

Yesterday was a long, grey, sad day. Little to eat and no light. Night after four o'clock. We talked of Greece and Albania. The nights have no end. Today the captain is questioned.

19th October

Yesterday the supper of pigs in their sty. For three of us, one bowl of soup, two spoons and a heap of boiled potatoes unpeeled, put on the floor among the sweepings, and that without light. The night almost black. Incredible mess. Yet we were glad of the potatoes.

22nd October

Still without light and the evening régime continued. One bowl of a basic soup like gravy, and unpeeled potatoes covered with earth, which we have to eat without seeing them.

The captain not back. Anxiety. Has he jumped out of the lorry? Is he free? or recaptured? or shot?

25th October

Yesterday a hot shower and news that the lorry was attacked on Thursday evening. Sensation! The same hope filled me as for the other captain. But nothing definite, since the lorry made several journeys. And on Wednesday he said to us: "Certainly no chance to jump off, for we are handcuffed in pairs. Something must be done from without, ten stout fellows to stop the vehicle and free us." (The very next day that is just what happened, and out of the six hundred prisoners the captain was there.)

This morning a woman called to us out of her window where we could see her head: "Cheer up! They'll do for them yet!" That gave us pleasure and courage. The most banal words from outside the barriers is loaded with meaning. . . . A new companion, a boy of seventeen.

Three o'clock. The poor child is weeping. We console him as well as we can. He repeats, as all newcomers do, looking at the walls: "But how long shall I be here?" I answered him: "The door may open in an hour's time or in a year's time."

In an hour's time! I spoke without knowing what I said. I had no presentiment. I had settled to work in order to utilise the last rays of light, when at four o'clock the sound of the lock was heard, the door opened and my name was pronounced with the expected and yet unexpected words, the two almost unbelievable words: "Out! Luggage!" Pack for ten minutes. With agitation. We all three start hunting in all the corners for my kit. But I am so shaken and trembling I can not get on. We have to share out, decide what to take and what to leave, I have messages to remember, promises to make, then farewells. Z. is in tears. . . .

R. de Pury.

Thinking Ahead as Christians

SIGTUNA

Extracts from notes on a Northern European discussion in Sweden in December, 1943

What is the War About?

Introduction:

So far as the outbreak of the war in Europe is concerned, it is seen that the German way of handling the Polish question makes Germany responsible for the war. Germany has also subsequently used methods that must be abolished. Thus especially the British regard the war as a war for ideal causes. For example, in Norway it is clear that the war is fought for justice against evil and violence. This attitude is a psychological strength. But in spite of all appeals to justice everybody fights for himself. It would be naïve to believe that the British took up arms from love for the Poles. Only to struggle against the same enemy keeps the Allies together. There is no other common denominator for their fighting-spirit. There is a fight for democracy against dictatorship, but the most gigantic struggle rages between two totalitarian states. For many it is a struggle for Christian culture; but the culture of Russia cannot be called Christian. American Christians especially want to let the Christian outlook and international views of justice dominate; but regard for the rights of others does not dictate the actions of Russia. In this struggle Christianity and justice are involved in different ways, but they do not dominate and, what is most important, they have no organised international means of expression. It is important that in the peace these fragments of fighting justice are made to join in a common effort for rebuilding.

A German: We who saw nazism from within saw the question in a simpler way. We saw from the beginning that it had to lead to war. Seen from within, this is a war of religion and philosophy of life. But seen from the outside, the situation is not clear, mainly, as the introducer pointed out, because of the struggle between bolshevism and nazism.

A Norwegian: Before Norway was involved we regarded it as an ordinary war, but afterwards we saw how dangerous nazism is. When we see hell-fire approaching with nazism we are compelled to fight it.

A Swede: But truth can only be one, and it is not satisfactory to say that it is one thing seen from one side and another thing seen from another.

A Swede: Cannot we say that the war in a negative sense is a struggle against nazism and paganism without implying that in a positive sense it is a struggle for Christian faith?

A Swede: Concrete vocation is not a matter of fighting for Christianity against paganism but the immediate demand of the Will of God. This demand meets both German and Allied Christians. Human freedom is part of daily bread and the love of Christ forces us to fight for it.

A German: Many German Christians regard themselves as fighting against nazism by spiritual means: with the word of God and by doing the will of God. A German army chaplain is as good a champion against nazism as a British soldier. The conflict between Christianity and nazism is not parallel to the division of the present war. The war is a consequence of the division in national states and of the putting of man in the place of God which took place at the Enlightenment.

A Swede: The discussion has concerned spiritual factors, though naturally the war largely concerns material matters. But it is evident that spiritual factors are also engaged. If Christianity is defined as discipleship to Christ there is probably more of it on the Allied side.

A Swede: If you travel in Germany you get the impression that people fight for their lives, not for nazism.

A German: Every nation has its national interests. Nazism has intermingled just demands with its propaganda, and it is difficult to distinguish between national and nazistic factors. At the *Anschluss* of Austria anti-nazis also rejoiced.

A Swede: A Dane said the other day that the war does not only concern nazism but also the whole German spirit. An anti-Christian line runs from German idealism to nazism.

A Norwegian: In our struggle we are often forced to lie, falsify, etc. What is the will of God in such cases? In order to help in the struggle we are forced to do what we know to be sin and thus fight for Christianity with an uneasy conscience.

A Swede: To this we can quote Luther's words that we must not refrain from acting only because we are afraid of sinning.

A Norwegian: To us Norwegians here in Sweden it is very important to think the problems through. We refugees feel homeless outside the struggle at home. But we can see a task in working now with these problems, which our whole people later on will have to deal with.

What is the Future of Germany?

A German: Opinions in Germany vary with rumours. The feeling for what is true and what is not has been lost under the pressure of incessant, one-sided propaganda. To say that 5 per cent. are nazis is to name a rather high figure. The mass of the people say that they do not like the party but have no other alternative. A few want the generals to lead and to come to an agreement with England. But the most usual is to think that it is best not to think and speak of all this. The people must get to know that there are those who think of justice and help. Vansittart is used in German propaganda to inspire terror of the English. That Austria and the Sudetenland belong to Germany is not only a nazi view. If Germany were to be divided, if Germany were to be forced to give up East Prussia, West Prussia and Danzig because Russia does not want to give up her part of Poland, it would cause deep bitterness and disappointment in all Germans. As to war criminals justice must decide. But what law shall be applied, who shall judge and who shall punish? These questions are not relevant to the majority of the German people. They expect massacre and chaos. If Germany is conquered there will be no police. The influence of ideas from without must be such that they are received in a positive spirit, with confidence. The idea of common guilt must be the foundation. Britain has her guilt, as she did not help the German people against nazism but considered it none of her business.

What groups in Germany can help? What is the position of the Church? It is still an unanswered question, whether the Church can show the whole people the living power of Christianity and thus bring *light,* but here much can be done from outside.

A Norwegian: The introducer said that the Germans should be treated positively, but this infers that they are willing to co-operate in peace. We Christians cannot hate the Germans.

A German: The matter must not be handled so that Hitler is justified in saying that he wanted to save Germany from division by Britain and bolshevism. Will the German people realise that the fault is with nazism and Hitler? To what degree Germany can be freed from nazism depends highly on influence from outside, e.g., the demeanour of the Allies at the conclusion of peace.

A Swede: The alliance with Russia alters the whole discussion of war-debts, since Russia demands economic compensation. The Allies need German forces to co-operate with, but it is difficult to find any such who would not be regarded as quislings.

A Swede: At the conclusion of peace it will be difficult to attain what is felt to be just by both sides. In the German feeling for justice there are certain constants, such as the feeling for the unity

of the people, but also variables, which depend on the degree of guilt felt by the German majority. A feeling of responsibility and guilt must be bred on both sides.

A German: It would be best if the present opposition could take over the power of government after the collapse. It would be able to lead the people. Youth stands against the Party. The S.S. gets no volunteers but has to use force. In a working-camp the advantages of entering the S.S. were propagated but no volunteers were found, and a boy from Berlin said: "*S.S. ist von uns nicht beliebt.*" That a boy is a member of *Hitlerjugend* does not necessarily mean that he is a convinced nazi. It is most important to gain confidence. I wish it were declared that the friendship of Germany is desired.

A Swede: What England and U.S.A. demand is guarantees that what has happened is not repeated in twenty-five years.

A German: Naturally there are traces of German mentality in all nazi thinking. In Nietsche and Wagner you can see traces of nazism. In the religious atmosphere of nazism there are traits of *Jugendbewegung* and *Wandervögel.* But the endeavours to hold German history and German spirit responsible for nazism must be dismissed.

A Swede: We cannot accept all methods of expressing our antipathy to brutal methods. You must be generous and frank to win the Germans. We must not use the same methods as the Germans and revenge ourselves on the innocent as well as on the guilty.

A Swede: If we have any calling as a neutral people it is to try to see farther than the immediate issues. We can see matters from both sides, but at the same time it can justly be said that we do not know what we are talking about. We must protest and boycott, but in a positive spirit.

China Replies to London

In The Student World, *Third Quarter 1943, some questions were published from the consultative W.S.C.F. meeting at the Kenilworth Hotel in London, in February 1943. Here we have some Chinese comments on these questions from groups in Chengtu, Kunming, and at the National Sun Yat Sen University in Ping Shek.*

1. *Christians taking a stand:*

(1) What bearing has the experience of Christians in occupied countries upon the situation of other countries?

Ping Shek: In this part of China, where we are near to the front, and near to the occupied territory, this question is of some interest to us. We are often apt to condemn Christians for choosing to

remain in the occupied territory. In many instances we are right, but in some instances we learn that those who choose to remain behind are perhaps making a greater sacrifice than we are. They are facing a real danger in being in the grip of the enemy and at his mercy; and their minds are forever thinking of their children who are in the free territory. By remaining behind they are in many cases not co-operating with the enemy. They have to sell their lands or houses in order to support their children, and they will get away when the home is safe. We know that they are suffering, just as we are suffering, from the sins of the world, and at the hands of the same enemy. God is made real to us in a common suffering. It is the One and Only God to whom we have to look for Salvation.

(2) How do we differentiate between the Will of God and our own personal inclination?

Chengtu: We cannot always tell immediately what is the Will of God and what are our own inclinations. All we can say is that what is in accord with the welfare of the great majority of people is nearer to the Will of God. Our readiness to change as soon as we discover that something we do is not the Will of God, will help us to know better hereafter what is the Will of God.

Kunming: Christians should be least concerned about themselves, and more about their fellowmen; they should dwell, not on the immediate things, but on the far-reaching consequences of the present, and on the shapes which our community, and the world as a whole, will take in the generation to come. In this way we can probably differentiate between the Will of God and personal inclinations.

Ping Shek: (a) "If any man willeth to do His Will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself" (John 7: 17) has been suggested as an answer to this question. If our work is the Will of God we shall rejoice in it. We will rejoice in doing it even if it means suffering, sacrifice and pain.

(b) There must be humility when we come to God to seek His Will. The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican is a good illustration. We must go to God humbly and prepared to hear His voice.

(c) We often do not take action for lack of confidence and courage. It is one thing to know God's will and another to carry it out. We often think of social approval. We need the courage of Christ as He shows us in His experience in the Garden of Gethsemane. It is courage based on faith and love.

2. *Repentance and reconciliation:* What does repentance mean when translated into political and economic terms? Can political reconciliation best be promoted by a discussion of facts or of values?

Ping Shek: Repentance must come before reconciliation is possible. But we do not like to repent even to ourselves, far less to others; loss of face is unbearable. We like to justify our actions, and we must do something to distort the facts. Repentance is only of value when it is repentance *in toto*. It is useless to repent for a section of our behaviour, while refusing to repent for the rest. We have to give our all to God before He will accept our repentance.

It means nothing to our enemy if, after defeating him, we *say* "I let you go." We must *let* him. "Live and let live" is a helpful saying. We fight because we want to live, but we must fight also against evil in the world if we see others do not live. We share with others the sins of the world. We must recognise that all deserve to live, and that in the eyes of God all are His children. If we have this attitude then reconciliation is possible. No race or nation should have privileges to the exclusion of others. It is through sacrificial love that man can be reconciled to man, and man to God.

Kunming: Political reconciliation can best be promoted by an impartial study not only of values, but also of the true facts. In the post-war period the question of reconciliation will arise between the United Nations, as well as between the axis powers and the democracies. Perhaps the former problem will be even more difficult. Repentance means putting aside one's own interest, and then fusing it with the interest of others in building a better world for all people, but not for any particular nation.

3. *Nations:* For a Christian has the nation a positive value? Has a nation, like an individual, a particular calling?

Ping Shek: God made man, and man made the nations. A nation is a facilitating institution. As Christians we should love our nation. We should make it our aim that every member of the nation should be a Christian, and every Christian a good citizen. We should love our nation because it is the starting-point of loving other nations. "If a man say, I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen." (1 John 4: 20). Many of us have not been to other places; we have not seen other nations. If we do not love the nation we have seen, we cannot love the other nations we have not seen.

God loves us in spite of our sins and in spite of His judgment. We should love our nation even if it sins. Our nation has great value to us as Christians, even if it sins. When it sins it shows us that we are also in sin through lack of faith and good work. It is our duty as Christians to bring our nations right in God's eyes.

AURORA

An Affirmation of Belief in Democratic Government

This statement is an effort on the part of a small group of members of the W.S.C.F., gathered at Aurora, Ill., mostly Americans and Canadians, to express to fellow Christians some of the great values which we believe are contained in democracy. It is directed especially to our fellow students in parts of the world where this word, which has great significance for us, has been used as a term of abuse and emptied of all meaning. This effort is undertaken with much diffidence because we are keenly aware of the imperfections of our efforts in democratic government, and of the fact that in the past the attitude of superiority on the part of Anglo-Saxons has often completely hidden the real meaning of democracy for many peoples. Yet it is undertaken with deep thankfulness to God because we have thus far experienced many good effects of democracy which, though partial and fragmentary, commend its great potentialities as a form of government through which its citizens may attain a high degree of justice, peace and happiness.

We do not pretend that there is a form of government which is uniquely Christian but we do feel that democratic forms of government require the least compromise with Christian standards. We recognise that most of what is best in our present government is rooted in Christianity. Where the Christian conscience has become weak democracy has become corrupt and ineffectual; where the Christian conscience is strong we find in democracy an admirable instrument for the ordering of our common life in which the Church can perform its task of calling men and women into the Kingdom of God.

The Christian basis of government

In this section we state, very inadequately, the guiding Christian truths which we bear in mind in evaluating any form of government.

1. Since all men are of equal value in the sight of God, all should have equal opportunity for those things (e.g., livelihood, education) which are essential in the development of their God-given powers.

2. Since each man is responsible before God for his own actions and since maturity in the Christian life requires that individuals make moral decisions freely, each man should have as great a part as possible in formulating the policies of society which influence his own life. Further, the state is healthy only when every citizen is conscious of his responsibility to the common life as represented in the government.

3. The Christian doctrine of love makes clear the fact that man's true destiny is only achieved in community. Our life should, therefore, be so ordered as to promote mutual confidence and the interdependence of men.

4. The natural resources of the earth are a gift of God to man and should be used for the benefit of all men.

5. Since the exercise of power inevitably leads sinful man to abuse power, in any form of successful government it is essential that adequate checks be placed on the power of those who exercise authority. The Church has a special responsibility to be continually arousing the conscience of the state and to be alert to all abuses of power.

The values of democratic government

We first state in the light of the above criteria some of the values which we have experienced in our democratic governments though we are fully aware that too often they are very imperfectly realised.

1. Democracy has effectively prevented the state from demanding the ultimate and complete loyalty of its citizens and thus usurping the place of God in our lives.

2. Democracy thrusts upon the widest possible group a responsibility for social decisions. This is a powerful inducement for the development of a sense of responsibility for government which is essential in a people if good government is to be maintained.

3. Democracy has been more successful than any other form of government known to us in preserving free assembly, speech and worship and other basic rights of man. When we compare our position with that of many of our friends in the Federation we are deeply conscious of our privilege in meeting here at Aurora.

4. The variety of voluntary organisations and cultural groups, the absence of regimentation has brought much richness, variety and vigour into our social life.

5. In democratic government a check is provided on the power of the government both by the ballot system and by the operation of public opinion. The ballot presents citizens with a method—however imperfect—of controlling the personnel and policy of those in power. Vocal public opinion exercises influence on legislation—for example, the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act of the U.S.A. in autumn, 1943, was largely in response to an aroused public opinion. We are convinced that, even in a large country, when people are supplied with the facts and there is a sufficiently high standard of education the great mass of people can take an effective and intelligent part in determining the action of government.

6. In contrast with totalitarian governments the multiple-party democratic government provides a means by which occasional and even grave mistakes may be made and overcome without precipitating the abandonment of the form of government.

The dangers of democratic government

While we are thoroughly persuaded of the many and great advantages of democratic government, as Christians, we realise that it often lapses into serious corruption, especially when the action of government is not guided by an alive and intelligent Christian conscience. We consider that the following are among the worst evils into which democracy falls.

1. Strong vested interests often control great political and economic power in order to maintain their supremacy. This results in (a) inequality of opportunity of work and education, (b) exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of one group, (c) exploitation of subject peoples (e.g., India) and defenceless minorities (e.g., citizens of Japanese parentage in the U.S.A.), (d) distortion of public information.

2. Often leaders of government have not sufficient trust in the people to provide the information which they need in order to make intelligent decisions about governmental policy, in particular foreign policy.

3. Hitherto, democracy has been a fertile field for the development of laissez-faire and monopolistic capitalism which, exalting "rugged individualism", has largely destroyed any real sense of togetherness in community life.

Conclusion

We who have experienced its benefits affirm our faith in democracy as a form of government. We recognise that true democracy has never been attained; that the sinful nature of man always tends to pervert it. But we believe that it gives greater opportunity for the development of man's personality according to the will of God than any other form of government yet devised.

THE EDITOR'S TRAVEL DIARY

Chile

The long day's flight from Lima in Peru to Santiago in Chile is perhaps the finest in the whole trip round South America. After leaving Peru there is the sunrise over the Cordillera, flushing the snowslopes pink before the sun itself appears; then all day you fly between the mountains and the sea, sometimes over the one and sometimes over the other; and at the close there is the sun setting right into the Pacific Ocean, and the descent to Santiago in the cool twilight under the very eyes of the giant Aconcagua. What a difference between these two capital cities! Lima retains a proud and antique air, but Santiago is like a bustling European city. Communist book shops and ribald political cartoons were astonishing after the regulated political thought of Peru. A journey out to a suburb on a crowded, talkative tramway car revealed a proletariat which was not afraid to be gay or indignant; and the suburb itself was not laid out in rich men's villas but in ranks of homes of a middle class which took pride in its patches of gardens. In this contrast between two cities I felt I was actually witnessing the change which is coming over South America—the secular life of an urban mechanised age overcoming a feudal agrarian history. The troubles of democracy were reflected in the shop windows where I saw fine goods for sale, but always at badly inflated prices. How ridiculous to see the extravagant and impecunious passer-by tempted by the linens and the glass, the tweeds and the silks, which all the coupons in Britain could not procure in the country of their origin!

A Y.M.C.A. Camp

It was a relief to slip out of the heat of the city and to climb in the train that unexpected ridge of pleasant hills which separates the country round Santiago from the sea. Chile may consist of one rapid river after another rushing down to the sea, but the traveller by train is aware of a long and fertile valley between two ridges, which, he is troubled to discover, is not a valley at all.

My destination was a beautiful Y.M.C.A. camp site at El Tabo on the shores of the Pacific, where an International Youth Camp was being held. Our tents were pitched behind high, tufted dunes, which on the far side rolled down for half a mile to a glorious stretch of sand and an ever thundering sea. As we perched for morning worship in a hollow in the sand we would see horsemen outlined against the breakers and as we gathered round the camp fire at night the phosphorescence would sparkle with more magic than any illumination. Romance and magic are only a little way below the surface in South America, and, as we sat wrapped in our ponchos while two or three of our number sang and mimed to some haunting melody, the war in the West seemed ridiculously far away, and the war in the East among the islands of that same ocean was quite incredible. Yet this group of a hundred athletic handsome young men from Chile and the River Plate and Brazil, from Peru and Bolivia, was well aware of the problems of their day. A German and a Jugoslavian visitor, slowly becoming acclimatised, reminded them of open conflict, but most of all they were conscious of the social and political problems of their own continent. The discussions were serious, the leadership was excellent, the spirit of participation could not have been bettered. Yet always there was present that tragedy of Latin American life, the frustrated character of its religious expression. There were Roman Catholics and Protestants amongst us, and many who were held by the attraction of Christ without being members of His Church. I would blame no one, least of all the splendid Latin and North American Y.M.C.A. secretaries, who made that meeting possible; but it is a tragic thing to share high ideals and pledge one's loyalty to them without being able to join in common worship or even in separated worship with mutual understanding. The Christian youth of Latin America has a long and hard road to travel; the Y.M.C.A. can, and will, direct its journey, but only a regenerated Church can welcome it at the end.

Travelling Southwards

I made a journey south to Temuco, where it was delightful to sit in the sweet-smelling garden, with its old-fashioned borders of box, of what is now the Baptist School, and then on to Valdivia

on its noble estuary where, with a Catholic friend from Fribourg, I sat under a poster of the Matterhorn in a Swiss hotel. The rich farmlands, and tidy warehouses with German names were strange after the deserts of the north, and only the glimpses of Chilean horsemen in their short jackets, gay ponchos and stiff broad-brimmed hats, reminded me that I was far away from the Rhine. As the train swung round the head of a valley I caught sight of corn being threshed under the feet of mares galloping round in a circle. The blue hills and the sudden rainstorms drew me on, and I longed to go to Magellanes in the far south to which an entrancing tourist map enticed me, and where I learnt from the newspapers that sheep-farmers with unmistakably Scottish names did great business in rams and ewes.

In Chile I had the good fortune to have as my travelling companion Raymond Valenzuela, well known in S.C.M. circles in the States, and now a Methodist pastor in Concepción. I began to see clearly, and was later to confirm my impression in the River Plate and in Brazil, that a Federation secretary is only of use when a national leader takes him in hand and gives him his opportunities. At the International Camp, in the Y.M.C.A. in Santiago and in the vacation setting of Temuco, we got student groups together. Contacts from my Chilean visit of three years ago held good, and the loyalty of one or two friends made then was the basis of our meetings. But this time there was a determination to found a Movement, and the presence of an experienced younger leader in Sr. Valenzuela made the venture worth while.

A New Movement

The Movement was founded two months after I left, and has branches in Santiago and Concepción; it is right in the thick of the first crop of problems, but it will win through. Indeed Chile may be the South American country, after Uruguay, in which an S.C.M. can most readily develop. There is a freedom of atmosphere and a gaiety of spirit, which are helpful in creating fellowship. If the distinctively Christian purpose can be kept central and the initial harmony of different evangelical groups maintained, the Movement may build up a tradition and a programme which will attract the Chilean student with his love of discussion

and his quick enthusiasm. But the news of the founding of a national Movement is not just a cheerful item in the Federation News Sheet, *but a summons to prayer and to every kind of assistance that the rest of us can give. It was therefore good to know that an invitation, which I carried to Buenos Aires, is resulting this autumn in a visit from Sr. Lurá Villanueva to Chile, armed with the experience gained by the Movements in the River Plate.*

Roman Catholic Relationships

This is perhaps the place to record that on my whole tour I had a number of pleasant contacts with young Roman Catholic leaders in Catholic Action, and in Chile most pleasant of all. I was sorry to leave not long before a Pax Romana Conference was held near Santiago. The problem of Roman Catholic-Evangelical relationships is a complex and difficult one. The visitor is, on the one hand, fearful of creating trouble, which he will leave behind him for others to deal with; he feels, on the other hand, an obligation at least to make such personal contacts as relationships of mutual respect in other parts of the world would indicate. "Ecumenical" tends to have the meaning of unconfessional in Latin American countries, and an inter-confessional position is hard to hold. Yet there are few things which cut the nerve of Christianity more quickly than bigotry, and it is a vice which is highly contagious. So the efforts of S.C.M. leaders to be positive in their own faith, and yet keep the doors of their fellowship open, is surely to be commended. I do not forget that it was an apparently ultra-Protestant student leader who took me to see perhaps the most spiritually minded man I met in South America, and he was a Roman Catholic. To hold a position which seems to produce no results, but which you believe to be right, may in the end affect the future.

Argentina

I have described before the crossing of the Andes by plane. This time it lacked romance because a thunder storm made me ignominiously sick, and terra firma, *with Daniel Lurá Villanueva and his wife and a student representative to meet me, was*

especially welcome. Buenos Aires was as unbelievable as ever; indeed more so because it was holding its Shrove Tuesday—or shall we say early-Lenten?—carnival. Pre-war goods in the windows, and pre-war man rollicking in the streets came as a sudden shock. I had forgotten that such times existed. I began to wonder what more Buenos Aires could do to celebrate an armistice, and then realised that it would have to be marked by official indifference, because I had passed into the zone of neutrality again, a neutrality which, unlike Sweden of my 1943 visit, did not even seem to care.

But how absurd it would be to judge a country by the popular manifestations of its capital city! It was from Argentina that the first Latin American gift came for student suffering in the world. It was in Argentina, perhaps because *of the political situation, that I had easily the best discussions with students, and frequently, about the state of the world. Often two apparently incompatible feelings were expressed, one of proud independence which resented the political assumptions of the Good Neighbour policy, and one of intense democratic sympathy which reached out to all those who struggled for freedom. The famous universities of Argentina have been fighting a lone, unadvertised battle for academic liberties. There was uncertainty in the air about the resumption of classes, and the holding of exams, and many a good story of student skirmishing, especially in the provincial universities. The resistance of those who love freedom is not confined to occupied Europe; but it was sad to find that the struggle was not associated with Christiantiy, but almost the reverse, since the dominant Church was generally assumed to be on the wrong side.*

In such a national setting it is not easy to build up a Student Christian Movement, but I was encouraged by what I found. The group in Buenos Aires had held loyally together and showed signs of slow growth, while a sub-group *was beginning in Rosario, and contacts were being built up with other university centres. There is a determined, serious spirit abroad. The River Plate S.C.M. Committee, with Sr. Hugo Grassi of the Continental Y.M.C.A. in the chair, and Sr. Lurá Villanueva as secretary, is a hard-working body, which is meeting with success in its efforts to develop*

S.C.M. life in Argentina and Uruguay. A joint camp of forty students had been held a few weeks previously, and we discussed many plans for future action. Buenos Aires has become a base for Far Eastern travel, and I was sorry just to miss Lyman Hoover and his friends before they set out for Cape Town in an ancient sailing vessel! But a first hand account of student life in China had made the Federation real to the S.C.M. members in the River Plate.

Uruguay

My visit to Uruguay largely consisted of shooting in fast buses across its lovely undulating farm lands with their slow ox-wagon life through masses of blue and silver thistles by the road-side; but the five days brought me many delightful experiences. First of all there was the wedding of the ex-president and an opportunity of meeting the youth and beauty of Montevideo! Then there was a week-end by the sea at a little evangelical holi-day camp run by Arturo Sanchez Palacios and his wife, who have been father and mother to the Uruguayan S.C.M. It was a privilege to keep the Universal Day of Prayer for Students sitting round a trestle table in a tent after breakfast with a handful of students and two or three simple families on their brief vacation. Long talks we had in the dunes about the S.C.M., and a longer one was planned, only two parties lost one another on a Sunday afternoon excursion! The haphazard friendliness of a Christian fellowship, which had deep roots and brought its members gifts of joy and peace, was impressive to the visitor. I dashed out to Piriapolis, the famous Y.M.C.A. holiday camp, to meet old friends, and found another little carnival. But this was such a different one, gay and childlike in the soft summer night; it helped me to see what the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have done for social relationships in South America. Finally I had a never-to-be-forgotten twenty-four hours with Emmanuel Galland and his wife and family at Colonia Valdense. To drive in a little charrette *through the fields, and air my poor French with a gracious lady who gave me* lait caillé *and took me down the alleys of her garden; to see the ancient sign* Lux in tenebris *in the Waldensian Church; to stand on the flat roof of the little house, which has*

befriended so many travellers, and look down the gently sloping dell between the cypress trees; to sleep in a study surrounded by evidences of French Switzerland, and to talk with one of the first Christian workers among the students of South America, who still has them in his heart, was sheer delight.

Brazil

Now was to come my greatest adventure, a visit to that vast country of Brazil, which I had only just set foot in three years before. At once I was aware of a different rhythm. This was a country of infinite possibilities, on the move and on the make. No sense of proud isolation here, no imported United Nations propaganda to remind the passerby where the country should stand, but a rough and vigorous determination to build up a powerful nation; and an independent spirit, which was rooted in the knowledge that Brazil did not need to create a place for herself in the world, because for so many of its wants, and with so much of its surplus population, the world would come to Brazil. Of course, like the United States of America which it so closely resembles in size, the United States of Brazil is really a continent. The long hours of flying made me acutely aware of that. I only touched three cities. But there is a sense of "manifest destiny", which caught the imagination of the visitor. There was no carnival in the streets of Rio de Janiero this year, and the sound of marching men in São Paulo led me to a great placard on the side of a towering sky-scraper: "Brazil expects that every man this day will do his duty"!

There is a magnificence in the Portuguese language that is almost overpowering. Beautiful names abound and there is a dignity of conversation and address that comes right out of the eighteenth century. My first halt was at Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. This charming city is built on steep hills which give you surprising vistas of blue sea on every hand, and up and down these hills sway the tramway-cars of Lisbon! Yes, if nothing else told you that you are now in a Portuguese-speaking country the trams would! They move with the same abandon as in Portugal; in Rio they leap from hill to hill on the narrowest of viaducts; always they are festooned with reckless

humanity, one hand on a bar, one foot precariously on a step; and round about the outside of the passengers climbs the conductor, relentlessly collecting his fares. Coupled with this very Latin method of travel there is the strange fact that passengers queue up for buses, though not for trams, with a resignation and discipline only matched in war-time London. Nothing can stop a people with such a flair for individual independence, and yet a willingness to accept the discipline of the community! The same contrast appeared in all my business at Porto Alegre, where a good Swiss friend in the Y.M.C.A. saw me through the necessary steps of the stranger entering Brazil. Never was there so much red tape, and never so much good manners with it all. It was an honour to have one's finger-prints taken, and the lady who verified the colour of my eyes did so with a charm I almost mistook for a deeper interest.

Two Movements

In São Paulo I met the leaders of the two movements: the U.C.E.B. or Students' Christian Union of which Wilson Fernandes was the Secretary, and the A.C.A.s or Student Christian Associations of São Paulo and Rio, of which Eurípedes Facchini is the secretary. It is not surprising that this vigorous city of a million inhabitants on its plateau is a leading centre of both Movements. Things happen in São Paulo, and a Paulista has something of the same attitude to the rest of the country as the man who hails from Texas! I put up in the Hotel Terminus, but while I was there the hotel came to a terminus *because the street was being widened, and I had to flee elsewhere. New buildings grow quicker than grass in the streets of São Paulo.*

Two leaders of the U.C.E.B. came most courteously long distances to meet me, and we had long talks over the affairs of that active Movement amongst high school and college students, which is in a corresponding relationship to the W.S.C.F. I visited three branches in the neighbourhood and was much impressed by the sense of fellowship which they possessed. This is a Movement which has always had a biblical foundation, and the appointment of Jorge Cesar Mota, a young Presbyterian pastor of distinction, as the new secretary, is most encouraging. His descrip-

tion of Bible study may be read on page 75 of Rediscovering the Bible. *But we shall not lose Wilson Fernandes, with all his experience of the Federation, from the counsels of the U.C.E.B.*

Eurípedes Facchini was my guide, philosopher and friend in Brazil. For two weeks we lived in one another's company and conversed in a strange mixture of English-Spanish-Portuguese-French. It left a great deal to be desired as a medium of communication, but it brought us into a relationship of intimacy, which I valued greatly. Passionate enthusiasm and a determination to put the A.C.A.s firmly on the W.S.C.F. map were marked in the university leaders. Relations between the members of the two Movements are excellent and a vision of their complementary task is opening up before them. In all conscience the teeming student life of Brazil needs their joint efforts, and all the help we can give from outside.

The Evangelical Witness

In Brazil there are larger groups of evangelical students than in other South American countries, but in the cynical, secular life of the universities it is hard for them to make their witness. This is the place where I might record my appreciation of the part played by students who are members of the Evangelical Churches all through South America. They are, and will remain, the backbone of the Student Movements. It would be a fine thing if the leaders of their Churches would urge their participation, for only so will an effective work for Christ be done in these great and, from the point of view of religion, largely forsaken universities. In Brazil the power of the Evangelical witness is seen in grander proportions. I shall not forget the privilege of preaching to a great company of my fellow Presbyterians in São Paulo, and knowing that it was the listening congregation which gave the sermon any power it had.

It was hard to leave Rio de Janeiro, bringing to a focus all the beauty of a continent, and all the friendliness of those amongst whom I had travelled. That friendliness was seen at the last in the determination of Y.M.C.A. colleagues to get me away on the right day, which resulted in my departure on the day before! As the plane swung out over the bay, and my eyes travelled over

that amazing panorama of mountains, I picked out a peak that had been named to me as "The finger of God", and then I turned to the great figure of Christ which stands with arms outstretched above the city. God is judging the civilisation of South America, as He is judging so terribly the civilisation of Europe, but His mercy never fails to reveal itself through the community of those who bear His name, be they Catholic or Protestant. All that I had seen of the Student Christian Movements seemed ridiculously ineffective in the face of the dominant secularism of the universities; it would indeed be ridiculous, if it were not that God has a strange way of using the foolish things of the world to confound the wise.

R. C. M.

A Vice-Chairman Takes up the Tale

Mexico

A first impression of Mexico City after twelve years, was the way it is expanding and growing upwards—new buildings, modernistic in style, everywhere. And the shops just bursting with all the things you can't buy in the States any more—electrical equipment, plumbing, hardware, tires. And taxis everywhere and negotiable for a price fair or foul depending on your appearance as a tourist and willingness to walk in the cause of economy. It's rather a game, which one leaves in the hands of friends who live in the city!

Latin American universities do not have much community life of their own. They're just buildings off somewhere in the city where you go for classes. Many professors are business men, or engineers, or lawyers, who have work of their own elsewhere and just turn up at the university to give a lecture or so. There's no student union building or place where students would meet each other. There are a hundred or two students from South America in Mexico City. They live in lodgings in the city and no one seems to know much about them. In the summer-time United States and Canadian students arrive en masse *for a short term. The U.S.A. students were just beginning to arrive. Two jaunty looking lasses from Utah sat at the same table for lunch one day*

at the Y.W.C.A. They had come by bus, knew not one word of Spanish, and were finding swimming pools and getting a sunburn. On the whole they thought they'd rather like it! Hollywood is visible everywhere as movies seem to be a favourite pastime. With advice, one can find the Mexican movies with stories of Indian life and customs, beautifully photographed and breathing a spirit and culture of great charm and individuality.

The Student Christian Movement

The A.C.E., or S.C.M., has about fifty members; some of them are from the University, some from a Girls' School, some from a Workers' University. Most of the older ones have full-time jobs —in an architect's office, or with a business concern. Practically all of them seemed to be active with their own churches. They were all Protestant. The A.C.E. is open to students of any branch of the Christian faith or of none. One evening there was quite a violent debate between two of the members about the relationship between Catholics and Protestants in Mexico and in the S.C.M. It is a live issue. Two of the outstanding members of the Advisory Committee are Roman Catholic and enthusiastic supporters of the A.C.E., which is a great asset to any new movement finding its place in a difficult religious climate.

This is difficult from many points of view. Both Catholic and Protestant have shared alike in the mistrust of religion by the Government. For many years now all church property has been confiscated and held by the Government. It has been distributed again among the different denominations. Sometimes a Protestant group is given a Roman Catholic Church, and has a problem of adapting the shrines and statuary, for no alterations are allowed. Ministers and priests are limited, registered and must be Mexican born. No church publications may discuss political questions. There are many obstacles and only a vigorous, growing church could survive them. In spite of the common difficulties, there is an atmosphere of competition both between the denominations, and even to a slight degree between the churches and the A.C.E., where activities overlap and the usefulness of the Student Movement to the churches is not yet fully seen even by the students themselves.

Claudio Gutiérrez-Marín, the able and distinguished Spanish

pastor who serves as the General Secretary, is an enthusiastic worker for "ecumenism". Some of the students took part in his evangelical work and went regularly to his weekly Bible classes in various parts of the city.

One night we met in a delightful home on an elevation on the outskirts of the city. There the members of the A.C.E. drank delicious chocolate, a specialty of Mexico, whipped to a smooth blend in earthenware bowls, and pastries, which the chairman of the Advisory Committee confided to those beside him was the chief inducement for coming. Then as good luck would have it, Sherry Reisner, one time of Dwight Hall, Yale, and the New England Student Christian Movement, working with the World Literacy Committee, which had taken him far and wide over the South American continent, joined us, and told (in what I'm sure was excellent Spanish) what he had seen of the work of Eurípedes Facchini and the Student Movement in Brazil.

The Desert of the Lions

One afternoon, we all tumbled into a bus for the Desert of the Lions, along with any number of young mothers with their babies done up in the big robozo which they wear wrapped over their head and shoulders. Why the babies don't smother inside is a wonder, but once seated, the big round lump becomes a human being and out pops a wee head and shining black eyes to stare without blinking at the little world inside the bus. Drums and horns, babies and market baskets, old and young packed in together hanging onto the rods, up over the hills and the great forest lands and along the smooth highway to Guadalajara. The road wound around sharply and the driver, a stout and pleasant looking man, concentrated on giving those in the back seat as much of a thrill as he could with every sharp curve, guided by the shrieks as to his degree of success!

After lunch we visited the ruins of a Spanish Nunnery, a dead world of the past—chapel with Spanish dome, refectory, cells, cloisters intact. Some of the rooms had been partially reconstructed and the faintest suggestion of some of the frescoes still visible. The beautifully arched long hallways, the smooth tiled floors, the little bare rooms with their fireplaces, all helped

the imagination to reconstruct the austere and silent life of the nuns. The great beauty was in the way the gardens and cloisters were arranged, in the giant forest, towering above on the sharp hillsides and in the sense of calm and isolation and other-worldliness.

The bus picked us up just as the heavens opened in torrential rains and everyone crowded in at the start. So we got back to town. We hadn't been to a desert and there weren't any lions, but we'd had a good time, visiting on the bus, seeing the sights, singing songs. So now, when I see the word Compañerismo *next to a date in the A.C.E. bulletin, I'll know what it's like!*

Farewell and Welcome

How often it was during those two weeks that I had a rendezvous at the Y.M.C.A. We gathered there, I got advice there, I went there when there was trouble of any kind. On behalf of the W.S.C.F. I was asked to sit at the Speakers' Table the evening of the celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the Y.M.C.A., a symbol of the warm relationship between the two bodies. The Y.W.C.A. too, just around the corner, with its much used cafeteria, was a constant help. We are most fortunate in our senior backing in Mexico, and not least in our Chairman Sr. Báez-Camargo who has circulated freely among the ecumenical movements, was at the Madras meeting of the I.M.C., knows the W.S.C.F. personnel and work, and has a broad vision of where the national S.C.M.s fit into the world picture.

I was leaving Mexico for Estes Park, Colorado, and the S.C.M. conference there. An airplane is a wonderful way to get perspective on more than scenery. I had joined the fellowship of those who have seen and felt the appeal of S.C.M. work in Latin America. I was a North American, rooted in a different soil, and incapable of bridging the gulf of cultural differences. Yet I had experienced the warmth of friendship and the oneness of interest which always exists in the W.S.C.F. family. I had seen a Movement coming into being, still weak, and uncertain of its programme and policy, yet in a religious situation in which it can make a very great deal of difference in the individual lives of students, in the kind of leadership in the churches and in the life

of the nation. So I fly along high up in the clouds between Mexico and the United States, eager that I may help in having members of the Federation come to know and feel the affection I do for our friends in Mexico and help them in every way possible to carry their full share of responsibility with the world Christian community. Farewell Mexico, land of colour and space, of high mountains! I'll miss the glimpses down at the end of each street in the city of hills and white clouds beyond. I may no longer be run down by the lad cycling rapidly around the corner, but I can't stand and laugh any more at the basket, a yard in diameter and filled with bottles which he balanced untouched on his head. I go back to the A. & P. markets, clean and orderly, but there won't be any great piles of gorgeously coloured baskets, nor pottery and lacquer and gaily woven bags, which one can buy and buy and never tire of. But there will always be the knowledge that in future years, members from the Asociación Cristiana de Estudiantes de Mexico will come increasingly into our councils and bring into our deliberations the contributions which they alone can make. And so in this sense the farewell is not a leave-taking at all, but just one more voice of Welcome.

H. M.

THE STUDENT WORLD CHRONICLE

Dutch Students in Search of the University

This document is one of the finest reports from an occupied country. While the majority of Dutch students were living in hiding, involved in "illegal" action, always in danger, never at home, unable to do any study, or to meet in corporate life, some hundreds felt a deep sense of responsibility for the University, and had the spiritual strength to accept that responsibility. What follows is an account of their thinking.

"It is not the Dutch *University* that made the stand against the ideological claims (Leyden excepted). It was the *students,* only in a few cases preceded by their teachers. It was a very disappointing discovery, that in the search for leaders they could only find professors hesitant, cautious, often without courage, ready to compromise. Of course there are some fine exceptions to this general rule, but one can safely state that the real resistance came from the student ranks. The Dutch University, sharing the destiny of the modern University in general, possessed no clear confession. It had withdrawn itself into a vague, colourless neutrality. A few instances excepted, it did not know what it stood for. Thus the universities and professors found their tongues only when the students had already taken their decisions, and it was only after the students had literally forced their teachers in the legal press that these did take a firm stand!

This situation set the students thinking about the nature of the University. Just before the war a little group of professors and students had started to tackle this whole problem. This work, in which the S.C.M. took a leading part, was continued now that in the stream of events the University had become incoherent, without a distinct notion of common convictions (only the vague conjecture of common traditions referred to in official declarations) and without a basic faith.

Apart from the gallantry of the student resistance it is perhaps one of the finest signs of the potential strength of the Dutch students that, amidst all sorts of discouraging temptations, they found the vitality to rethink (literally day and night) the whole position of the University. This work was done with great intrepidity and with a consecrated sincerity. (In one university town an illegal monthly was started wholly dedicated to the problems of the new university structure.)

The first problem clearly seen was that of the University as *universitas magistrorum et scolarium*. The sad experiences during the time of occupation, of the incoherence of the University, gave to these reflections a particularly realistic note. The basic notions are: the University should be in the first place "a community for shaping alumni to be the responsible bearers of spiritual values." This can only be done in the *civitas academica* where professors (*seniores*) and students (*juniores*) live and study in the most intimate community. Every action in the student world, the whole educational policy of the University itself, must be seen in the light of this *civitas* concept. There must be a community life shared by all *cives* (students, alumni living in society, professors) centred in the *civitas*-home, from which all the life of the university radiates.

For the Dutch situation these concepts are very revolutionary. Before the war Dutch student life was divided into watertight compartments: sectarianism and conservatism prevailed in the student unions; the non-union students had no connection at all with the whole of university life ("nihilists"). The war has taught us to restate the position. The student unions are all officially dissolved; now hardly anybody wants them to come back as they were before.

In thinking about the University as a *civitas academica* we are led to the point where an answer must be given to the everlasting enquiry as to a common basis of this community. Not only the structure of student life, but the whole structure of university study is touched. Can we find a common basis? And how can we build on it the whole scheme of our studies? These are some of the questions which follow.

It would be ill-considered to claim that these questions have found already an adequate answer. One of the fundamental problems of modern culture would then be solved! But it is encouraging to notice that whole groups of students, formerly averse to these "academic" questions, now give their whole energy to them. Life itself has led them to do so.

Any generalisation is not yet possible. The only thing one can do is to note the tendency of these discussions (in faculty and inter-faculty groups), which must end somewhere in a confession of faith. The common basis for the future University is said to be found in the "best spiritual heritage of our nation, founded by Christianity and 'humanism' ". This statement still lacks real precision. The discussion has only just begun. But, and this is really important, they are willing to break with the "non-committal standpoint" of a neutrality which lacks definite principles and character. The University *per se* requires a foundation which will support its whole life. It will be a *restitutio in integrum* when the University again gets this basis.

The Rediscovery of the Bible

A statement from the consultative W.S.C.F. meeting at Aurora, Illinois, drawn up by Gerald Cragg after discussion

A W.S.C.F. meeting which convened in the centre of North America naturally speaks in terms of the conditions which prevail on this continent. For the most part our movements have not undergone the discipline of Bible study which has marked the European student groups. We recognise that in Europe an irresistible pressure of events has driven our contemporaries back to an unreserved dependence upon the Bible, and in the process they have discovered new depths of meaning in its pages. Something remotely comparable has been happening in some of our movements, but we also acknowledge that in many instances the Bible is largely neglected and our fellow students see no need to study it seriously. We are persuaded that fruitful Bible study presupposes exacting discipline; some are willing to submit to this, and some are not. We believe that amid the distractions of our modern life our fellow students are most likely to find the time and give the effort necessary to such Bible study either when the pressure of events breaks down the barriers which shield us from disaster, or when the inadequacy of our religious resources makes clear our essential spiritual bankruptcy.

In a continent which is seriously preoccupied with ethical issues, we feel that the time has come to reassert the interdependence of moral insights and religious convictions. And we believe that even for the maintenance of our concern with social action we need a greater familiarity with the Bible than any that we now possess.

Why study the Bible?

Our basic beliefs drive us back insistently to the Bible. We are persuaded that beneath and behind and beyond all things is God; He has created us and fashioned our world; from Him we receive our life; by His power we are sustained; by His love and mercy we are redeemed; through faith in His purpose we find meaning amid the mysteries of life. Moreover, it is the basic Christian conviction that God has revealed Himself, and we know Him because He has made Himself known. He has disclosed Himself in what He has done; we know Him because we see His works. The record of His revelation is the Bible; and our belief in God forbids us to neglect the record of His dealing with our needy race.

We further recognise the unique significance of the Bible because through its pages we learn of Jesus Christ, Who is of supreme importance in the forming and sustaining of our faith. Through

the pages of the Bible we learn about His life and death and receive the teaching which the first disciples have transmitted to us. In the Bible we have the record of the faith which He inspired and to which, in varying forms, we still respond.

At a time when man himself is apt to be his own most baffling problem we find in the Bible an insight into and an understanding of man's true spiritual nature. We believe that in the Bible we have the surest corrective against both arrogant self-sufficiency and undiscriminating pessimism. We see man in the only perspective which in times like ours can preserve his ideals from futility and his hopes from frustration.

We gratefully acknowledge that the Bible is the means through which there is transmitted to us the religious experiences which are the authentic mark of the Christian faith. Through its pages we find that God actually *speaks* to us, and consequently we make bold to claim that in the Bible we have the living Word of God. In our generation, as in those which have gone before, men and women have discovered that through the Bible there comes to them the liberating experience of forgiveness and the authentic power of a new life.

We gratefully acknowledge the intimate interdependence of the Bible and the Christian community. The Bible was the product of the Church; and ever since the Bible has sustained and purified the community which has transmitted it to succeeding generations. So close is this connection that we recognise with humble gratitude that apart from the Bible there would be no Christian fellowship to which we could belong.

The authority of the Bible

But even as we recognise the supreme importance of the Bible, we acknowledge that we interpret the nature of its authority in varying ways. We are agreed in excluding the literalism and the legalism which have tended to confuse the nature of the Bible and in some quarters have brought the discipline of Bible study into disrepute. Though probably none here present would share it, we admit the authentic earnestness of those who find in the Bible the only significant means of revelation, and who distinguish between revelation and reason in a way which appears over-drastic. We appreciate the elements of depth in this view, and recognise its value for those subject to the inexorable pressures of alien world views.

For us a different approach proves more satisfying. We recognise the Bible as the most authoritative standard which the Christian possesses, but we also recognise the continuity which unites what we get in the Bible with what comes to us through the remainder of

our experience. Consequently, while we acknowledge the Bible as a supreme revelation, we do not believe that it stands in isolation. It is normative, but we believe that God continuously discloses Himself, and we find in this the verification of the New Testament promise of the Holy Spirit. We believe, moreover, that this continuous revelation is continually checked and disciplined by reference to the truth which the Bible contains.

It is consequently our belief that the Bible must be brought into an intimate and fruitful contact with the whole of our life and thought. In this way, the ambiguity which is apt to pursue Bible study—our tendency to appeal to biblical passages for non-biblical reasons—is minimised. We believe that in this way we are best able to appropriate and conserve the authentic results of the historical method. We find ourselves free to appropriate the specific knowledge of facts to which our biblical insight must apply, and to bring into our religious interpretation of life elements which may not have emerged within the biblical (or even the Christian) community, and yet prove to be in fundamental agreement with the essential Christian position as it emerges in the Bible. But while insisting that there are factors which come from other quarters and which we neglect to our impoverishment, we believe that these same elements prove much more fruitful, and are much less likely to suffer corruption, if kept in intimate connection with the Bible.

In conclusion, we reaffirm our conviction that any living understanding of the Bible is not the result of a theory of its nature or a statement of its central importance. We learn what the Bible has to tell us when we have been willing to listen to what it says. In the discipline of Bible study we authenticate our conviction of its importance, and we learn to walk by its light when we have found that in the darkness it is in truth a lamp to our feet.

BOOK REVIEWS

MAN AND LITERATURE. By Norman Nicholson. *Student Christian Movement Press. 10/6.*

The theme of this excellent book is succinctly put in the opening words of the Introduction. "This book is not an attempt to measure modern literature by a Christian yardstick. It is not, fundamentally speaking, literary criticism at all. It is rather an enquiry into the assumptions as to the nature and purpose of Man which underlie much of modern writing." To Mr. Nicholson, as he looks back on the forty years or so of this century, there appears a development in the idea of man prevailing in the western world, and reflected in the writers of the period. (For his purposes, he confines himself to imaginative literature.) He divides the period under review into three sections, which he admits are in no way rigid but indeed overlap in a very complex way. Into each of these periods he reads one dominant idea of man, and he classifies them as Liberal Man, Natural Man and Imperfect Man. Under each heading he deals with those writers,—mainly of fiction and drama, although some poets are included—who were most read or best worth reading in their generation, and while any reader will demur at some of his judgments, the whole treatment is extremely stimulating and much new light is shed on books whether familiar or unknown.

This is a timely book. In particular it presents a point of view for the reflective reader, especially if, like the author, he accepts the Christian view of man and is deeply concerned that it may once again prevail in the world. For Mr. Nicholson does two things of the highest value for this generation. Firstly he sets up a guide-post by which we may find our way, not only through the writing of these recent decades, but through the whole field of literature; and, secondly, he recalls us, possibly with a shock, to the close and essential relationship between man and literature, that is to say, between man and the more creative books that are being read and are being written.

The divorce between Christianity and literature in our day sometimes seems to be as complete as it could be. Most of those who write *about* books have moved a long way from the Christian position, or at least have no considered Christian point of view to offer, while Christian writers are concerned with every other possible

sphere of life or thought from the Bible and theology to scientific or economic theory, sociology and psychology; they seem to have abandoned the study of literature—a field which to an earlier generation would have been one of the most fruitful under their efforts. This is not only a pity; it sometimes seems to presage disaster. In this age of best-sellers, when we are all, if we read anything beyond "news" or picture magazines, at the mercy of advertisement and all the hyperbole of the publishing trade, how are we to preserve any integrity of mind amid the welter of books which pours forth from year to year? How many educated Christian people do we know whose judgments about books as literature are of any value at all, although they may have useful opinions to offer about all manner of modern public questions, showing that they have brought to bear upon them a reflective Christian mind? In many cases the reading of Christians is simply dictated by the last person they talked to, a "puff" in their favourite weekly, or a coloured book-jacket seen on a bookseller's table. All honour therefore to those who (one thinks particularly of North America) try, from either academic or Christian platforms, to steer a way through the flood for those who care to follow them. Mr. Nicholson reminds us —or it may be awakens us to the fact—that a guide-post is indeed what we need if we are not sooner or later to be involved in some kind of mental shipwreck!

Whether one accepts Mr. Nicholson's guidance in its entirety is of little importance; even in detail there is much to be gained from his book. An early reading of the book after its arrival, led this reviewer back to the works of Thomas Hardy, with whom the survey begins, a writer long familiar and beloved, and indeed to a first reading of *The Dynasts,* which had hitherto been overlooked. She would here chronicle her gratitude to Mr. Nicholson for an entirely fresh delight and understanding and her assurance to readers of these pages that many such adventures may result from *Man and Literature.*

But, as we have already noted, the book is more than a guide-post. It reminds us, again in very timely fashion, of the inextricable relation between man and books. Mr. Nicholson shows how imaginative writers from George Bernard Shaw down to Hemingway reflect the prevalent view of man through their own genius and literary power. And it is a salutary experience for a Christian to follow him in his analysis. But there is another side to the relationship, which is equally important. Such writers in their day and generation help to mould the minds, and above all the youthful minds which are subjected to their influence. It is at this point the serious Christian should take thought and ask himself what kind of literature is being most widely read today.

A highly up-to-date Public Library in one of the great cities of North America recently published statistics of the books read in the current year, with the comment that men and women of this continent were surely, if one can judge from numbers, much better-read than their predecessors during the first world war. The further comment was made that the overwhelming majority of books taken out were either pure "escapist" fiction (mystery, detection and the like), technical text books, or books about the war and the countries whose names appear in the daily press. Perhaps men and women do read more, and we must welcome every indication that they are more seriously interested in the world about them and its problems, but at the same time these statistics seem to be a disquieting testimony to the steady diverting of education into certain definite and narrow channels, and indeed to the watering down of cultural influences as a whole.

To set beside that, the reviewer's eye was caught, a month ago, by an essay written by one of the unquestioned masters of the English novel of this century, who stated, in answer to an invitation, the names of the three great works which stood out as milestones in his youth; and he especially referred to the immense widening and enrichment of mind and spirit that resulted from reading them. They were Dante's *Divine Comedy,* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* and Tolstoi's *War and Peace.* Happily such influences are still available to youth, but it is undoubted that, so far as literature is concerned, education is fighting a losing battle in this generation, in spite of the noble efforts put forth in many schools and universities and by many men of letters and other leaders of thought. "English Literature is the Cinderella of subjects taught in this country," said a highly intelligent educator who had taught in two other countries before coming to Canada. And, if it is true of Canada, it is certainly not less true of other English-speaking countries.

It is of course an easy answer to point out the other cultural influences of the twentieth century. Listening comes much more easily than reading to a vast number of people, and nobody will dispute the value and the potentialities for culture of both radio and the moving picture. Unfortunately these are both so accessible and are frequently taken in such ill-judged doses as often to produce either a species of mental dyspepsia or at least aesthetic and intellectual confusion. From both are too frequently absent three essential elements—discipline, leisure to reflect on impressions gained, and rational selection—without which the intelligent person is scarcely to be distinguished from the illiterate. Needless to say, we refer merely to radio or the film as substitutes for reading, since music and the visual arts do not come within the scope of either book

or review. Besides there are many people today who pride themselves on their familiarity with the arts, and who seem to forget that literature has always held as proud a place as any in that company.

Such is the challenge presented by Mr. Nicholson in his admirable book, a challenge to which any reader of The Student World can hardly be unresponsive. That there are great sources of encouragement today is true. At least one publishing house of the United States of America for instance is engaged in pouring forth a steady stream of reprints of the great works of literature in a form which makes them easily procurable by even an impecunious student. This, and much else, is evidence of the realisation of something wanting in modern civilisation, highly developed as it is in certain other directions. At such a time, *Man and Literature* is well worth the serious consideration of any Christian man or woman who is concerned with the laying of foundations in the post-war world of a rich and balanced life.

Dorothy Mackie.

The Clue to Pascal. By Emile Caillet. *Philadelphia: Westminster Press, $2.00. London: Student Christian Movement Press, 6/-.*

In these days, when "the misery and greatness" of man has reached a pitch and an extent rarely paralleled in history, one turns eagerly to a new book about Pascal. Professor Caillet is Professor of French Literature and Civilisation at the University of Pennsylvania. The substance of his little book is a short series of lectures delivered at the Institute of Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary and is therefore, as the author says in his preface, necessarily limited in scope. Professor Caillet approaches his subject from a special angle. "Rehandling," he says, "the whole subject in the light of recent research, the author was impressed by the tremendous part the Bible played in the life and work of one of the profoundest thinkers of all time and one of the greatest men of God who ever lived. Here, to him, is the clue to Pascal." And he proceeds to develop this theme with a wealth of documentation and a scrupulous fairness in presentation which cannot fail to command respect.

In the first part of his book Professor Caillet gives us a sketch drawn with much sympathetic insight of Pascal's life and spiritual development up to the year 1654 when Pascal was 31 years old. Since his first contact with Jansenism eight years before, Pascal had been drawn ever closer to the new teaching. It had led him to a deeper study of the Bible and a renewed consecration of his life to God. Nevertheless during that year his soul drank deep of bitterness. He saw life as permeated by contradiction and futility,

and corruption and death as the inevitable end. Moreover he could no longer find comfort in religion. He passed through that experience of desolation well-known to mystics, that aridity of the soul when even the desire to reach out to God is dead. It was at this moment that on November 23, 1654, there came to him that overwhelming experience of which he has left us a record in the few phrases scribbled on the small piece of paper which he carried ever afterwards with him, sewn into his clothes, and which was found only after his death. It is a document of unique poignancy and significance. We touch here a mystical experience so profound that it is beyond expression in human terms and at the same time of such an acute reality that the passionate phrases and exclamations ring out almost as a cry of physical deliverance. But though we can only approach the threshold of the mystery, we can trace the pathway thither. It was the light given us in the Bible, above all in the Gospels, which Pascal then saw shining with the blazing intensity of physical fire and which led that master of irony and disillusion to utter those broken words of surpassing joy and uttermost love of his Redeemer, Jesus Christ. He, to whom such a revelation has been granted, whatever further sufferings of soul or body may yet be his on earth, has in a deeper and fuller sense than is possible for most of us, passed from life to death. One cannot therefore agree with the statement in President Mackay's otherwise illuminating foreword that "the tragedy of Pascal was that he did not reach in his pilgrimage of thought the promised land toward which his deepest insight pointed the way"; nor with the final sentence in Professor Caillet's book, which President Mackay quotes: "Never was a Roman Catholic nearer Evangelical Protestantism, nor farther away. In this supreme antinomy is summed up for us the secret of Pascal and of his anguish." Surely one cannot speak here of tragedy; and the anguish of Pascal, which sprang from deeper sources than any doctrinal differences, was at last allayed in the divine certitude of that moment.

Professor Caillet assumes that his readers are already familiar with the latter course of Pascal's life, a life which was to endure only another eight years. The last part of his book is in the main dedicated to an exposition of Pascal's religious thought and above all of his dependence on the Bible. The appeal of this part of the book will to a certain extent depend upon the theological standpoint of his readers. Deep as was Pascal's understanding of the message of the Bible, his interpretation of it was necessarily conditioned by the limits of historical knowledge at that time and coloured by the Jansenite doctrine. As such, much of it will be acceptable only to those readers in sympathy with this doctrine and the interpretation of Scripture on which it rested; which indeed seems to be the

standpoint of Professor Caillet. To others, this section of the book may rather raise questions than bring enlightenment, for it may seem to stress those elements in Pascal's religious thought which are alien to us today. For instance, Professor Caillet emphasises the importance to Pascal of the figurative interpretation of the Bible, of the belief that there is a double meaning running through Scripture, the literal or carnal meaning and the spiritual, so that that which is false literally may be true spiritually. While not denying the prophetic element in Scripture few of us today will feel that the Bible can throughout rightly be interpreted on figurative lines. For, if we believe that all truth is of God and that the Bible is the record of a special but progressive revelation in history, we shall feel that it is not by giving to the words of the Bible an interpretation of which the writer himself was unconscious and which cannot historically be maintained, that we shall come to a deeper and truer understanding of God's word; it will be rather through the search, in all reverence of spirit, for the actual historical truth.

What then is the nature of Pascal's special witness? Surely that he is unequalled in his haunting sense of the paradox of man and indeed of all existence here on earth, of the greatness and the misery, the ultimate contradiction and final tragedy. Other thinkers have seen the frailty and contradictions of human nature with eyes as free from illusion, but what gives a unique depth and poignancy to Pascal's irony is his consciousness that that which is at stake is of infinite worth. The tragedy is all the greater. And it is not limited to our individual earthly lives. The whole course of history leads up inevitably to the same conclusion—to silence and obliteration. One after the other the civilisations rise and fall till the moment comes when conditions on this earth make all human life impossible. That is the inescapable end of all our striving, all our high endeavours, the beauty we create and the knowledge which we win at such great cost. And it is a fact which the advance of scientific knowledge has revealed to us with a starkness unknown even to Pascal. It was rather in his own flesh that he felt the menace, saw the unmistakable signs of corruption and death. And he stood aghast. His was no spirit of philosophic detachment. With an utter dedication of mind and heart he turned and sought for life. And in the Christian message of hope and redemption, culminating in that supreme moment of illumination, he found it. At that moment he cut sheer across the drift to death of the creation to a reality of which this transient and yet precious world is but a broken image, a reality whose name is Love and who in the Person of Jesus Christ accepted the bonds and bitterness of mortality and opened to us the way of deliverance. The centuries which have passed since Pascal lived, and which have taught us still more of the working of God in the world

and in the soul of man, may have led us to interpret in some respects God's revelation in different terms; our growing realisation of the scale and mystery of the universe and of the course of human life on this planet may have set the crowning act of the Christian religion in a vaster perspective; but it is still in that act of revealing Love that we, creatures of an hour, "crown and scum of created things," shall grasp eternity.

CHRISTINA BEVAN.

The Anglo-Saxon Looks at Europe

IT'S YOUR SOULS WE WANT. By Stewart Herman.
New York: Harper's Limited, $2.50. *London: Hodder and Stoughton,* 7/6.

DARKNESS OVER GERMANY. By E. Amy Buller.
London: Longman's Green & Co., 10/6.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A GERMAN PASTOR. By Hans P. Ehrenberg.
London: Student Christian Movement Press, 6/-.

CHRISTIAN FRANCE TO-DAY. By Jessie Forsyth Andrews.
London: Student Christian Movement Press, 9s.

THE EUROPEAN CHURCHES. By W. T. Elmslie.
London: Student Christian Movement Press, 2/6.

EUROPE IN TRANSITION. Three pamphlets by Alexander McLeish.
London: World Dominion Press: Part I, 9s.; Parts II-III, 1/-.

European Christians swing between fear of, and desire for, the post-war co-operation of Anglo-Saxon Christians in the work of reconstruction. British and American Christians swing between an eagerness to help, and a sensitiveness lest they may not be wanted. One of the encouraging things at this time is the publication in London and New York of many books which are designed to help English-speaking people to understand with sympathy the problems of Europe, especially as they are related to the Christian Church. We have already noticed several of these in THE STUDENT WORLD, but on this occasion we have selected three books about Germany, a brief essay about France, and some booklets on the European churches. The more widely such literature is read by S.C.M. leaders outside Europe, the more helpful will be their relationships to the reconstruction of the life of the Federation and of the national movements.

It's Your Souls We Want is a grim title for a detailed description of a grim story, the bringing of German youth under the control of Nazi ideas. Stewart Herman, who was minister of the American

Church in Berlin, and a leading delegate at the Amsterdam Conference, was in a unique position to observe, and therefore recount, the whole struggle of the Christian Churches in Germany up to the time of his leaving in 1942. The book shows exhaustively and clearly the evils of Nazism and the strength and weakness of Christian witness.

Darkness Over Germany is written by an old member of the W.S.C.F. General Committee and friend of I.S.S., who worked tirelessly to help British university people to understand what was happening in Germany after 1933. Her pursuit of information took her into the homes of students she had known in the days of student relief from 1920 to 1924, delightful homes already under the Nazi shadow, into cafés, and station restaurants for surreptitious conversations, into government circles, and even to the National-Socialist Congress at Nuremberg in 1937. Her book is almost entirely a record of life-like conversations with the minimum of elaboration. She has not felt any need to utter condemnation on every page, but rather to describe faithfully what she saw and heard. Judgment and tragedy run through it all, but in a human rather than a theoretical setting. The result is a most valuable exposition of what happened in the minds of people she knew, especially of keen members of the younger generation. The author realises that Nazism was an evil answer to a genuinely felt spiritual need, and her concern is that we should find the right answer for youth, and not only in Germany.

Autobiography of a German Pastor is far more than a moving account of the life and experience of an able leader of the Confessional Church and old member of the German S.C.M. now living in England. It is an intimate introduction to the meaning of the Church struggle, and, what is more important, to the philosophical and theological history of Germany from the start of the century. The reader is brought face to face with the divergence between the experience of German Christians and Anglo-Saxon Christians. Much light is thrown upon the working of the Christian mind in Germany and upon blind spots in British Christianity. It provides an excellent background for the main theological discussions within the Federation, past and future, because Pastor Ehrenberg believes that we have much to learn from one another.

Christian France To-Day is a brilliant and sympathetic vignette of France in her time of agony and silence. The author is delightfully partial, but her claims for the future influence of the French Protestant minority ring true. Certainly The Student World in war-time is deep in its debt.

The European Churches, in the small compass of seventy pages, gives a remarkably comprehensive account of Christianity as at

present organised in Europe. The writer is clear in his distinctions and generous in his judgments. The book should be read by every English-speaking Christian who hopes, officially or unofficially, to visit Europe in the years after the war.

The pamphlets entitled *Europe in Transition,* which the writer of the book just mentioned indicates that he has freely used, are part of a war-time survey series, and might be likened to the summaries which some of us have valued for examination purposes. Please note that this is a strong recommendation! If you want to know the main historic and present-day facts about the Christian churches in one country of Europe after another, you can do no better than study these detailed and yet succinct pamphlets. And, as Christians, these are among the first facts we should know, as we think and pray about the future of Europe.

R. C. M.

The Approach to Christian Faith

RELIGION AND THE ISSUES OF LIFE. By Eugene W. Lyman.
New York: Association Press and Fleming H. Revell, $1.00.

PRISONER'S QUEST. By D. H. C. Read.
London: Student Christian Movement Press, 6/-. (Shortly to be published by Macmillan's, New York).

It would be interesting to discover whether Bible study and books about the Bible, or doctrinal study and books about the Christian Faith, are more useful in the work of a Student Christian Movement. A good deal of emphasis has been given in THE STUDENT WORLD to Bible study, but on this occasion we have turned to two books designed to help men and women to apprehend Christian truth. It may be interesting to contrast their methods. *Religion and the Issues of Life* is an additional volume to the famous Hazen series; its purpose is "to encourage and facilitate the serious study of religion by students and other youth"; it is written by a professor emeritus of the philosophy of religion, and is dedicated "to my former students who have had a vital part in the making of this book". *Prisoner's Quest,* though published by the Student Christian Movement Press with students in mind, is "a presentation of the Christian Faith in a Prisoner of War Camp in Germany; it is really a series of lectures delivered by an army chaplain which he sent home "neatly written in little exercise books," and is dedicated "to my friends of Oflag IX A/H—to those who encouraged, to those who listened, and especially to those who argued." It will readily be seen

that we have here two unusually important short books for those who are anxious to know more about Christianity.

Religion and the Issues of Life has the academic approach in the good sense; it is a friendly causerie by a born teacher, whose mind is well stored; it is always fresh and never patronising. *Prisoner's Quest* is a powerful *tour de force* by an able man, who, lacking his professional equipment of a library, carves out and sharpens his material, because he is determined to help men to believe. The settings seem very different. Students ask questions and enjoy ideas, because life is full of interest; soldiers, held for years behind barbed wire, wrestle with the concepts of faith in the hope that they may find a faith to live by. Consequently, the whole argument of the two books is different, though they cover a great deal of the same ground. To the first, religion is the key, to the second faith; yet the first is more dogmatic, and the second more tentative. Will the students in our universities in the next few years be more like the prisoners-of-war who argued with the chaplain or like the pre-war students who discussed with the professor? Time will show; but we shall always need both the reflective, discursive approach, and the closely-knit, apologetic approach.

R. C. M.

Notes on Contributors and Articles

Edwin Espy, of Amsterdam Conference fame, is now executive secretary of the National Council of Student Christian Associations in the U.S.A.

Ellsworth Carlson was until recently administrative secretary of the National Student Relief Committee in China.

Eric Brewin is one of the industrial secretaries of the British Student Christian Movement.

E. Sambayya is on the staff of Bishop's College, Delhi, India. He was at the Executive Committee meeting of the W.S.C.F. at Farnham Castle in 1937, and at the Amsterdam Conference in 1939. His fine article came unsolicited.

Roland De Pury is a pastor in Lyon, who has been closely associated with the French and Swiss Student Movements. The extracts were translated from the French by Dorothy Mackie.

We welcome as a reviewer Christina Bevan, the daughter of a distinguished father, Edwyn Bevan, who was a great friend of the British Student Christian Movement and the W.S.C.F.

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